
The
GREAT
EVENT
By
FAMOUS HISTORIAN
NATIONAL ALUMNI

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The Great Events by Famous Historians

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THE GREAT EVENTS

BY

FAMOUS HISTORIANS

A COMPREHENSIVE AND READABLE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY, EMPHASIZING THE MORE IMPORTANT EVENTS, AND PRESENTING THESE AS COMPLETE NARRATIVES IN THE MASTER-WORDS OF THE MOST EMINENT HISTORIANS

NON-SECTARIAN NON-PARTISAN NON-SECTIONAL

ON THE PLAN EVOLVED FROM A CONSENSUS OF OPINIONS GATHERED FROM THE MOST DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS OF AMERICA AND EUROPE, INCLUDING BRIEF INTRODUCTIONS BY SPECIALISTS TO CONNECT AND EXPLAIN THE CELEBRATED NARRATIVES, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY, WITH THOROUGH INDICES, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, CHRONOLOGIES, AND COURSES OF READING

EDITED BY

CHARLES F. HORNE, Ph.D.

Aided by a staff of specialists

VOLUME XX

The National Alumni

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AN OUTLINE NARRATIVE

TRACING BRIEFLY THE CAUSES, CONNECTIONS, AND CONSEQUENCES OF

THE GREAT EVENTS

(OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1903–1909)

CHARLES F. HORNE

NEVER during any previous period in history did great events crowd one upon the other with such rapidity as during the opening years of the twentieth century. Man's increasing energy, intelligence, and scientific knowledge carry him onward and upward at ever-increasing speed; and the once slow and stately march of the historic muse seems to have become a quickstep. So swiftly indeed do events sweep by us that we have scarcely time to clutch at them and realize their meaning before they are gone. The busy man, engrossed in his own particular method of making a livelihood, does not at all realize how his world is dissolving all around him, how rapidly, how completely "the old order changeth, yielding place to new."

Perhaps the most important, as certainly it is the most impressive, of the world movements of the first decade of the twentieth century was the advance of Democracy. All over the earth that young giant, the Will of the common people, began reasserting himself with new vehemence. His power as a political force is scarce a century old at most; yet it was not in his first home, in England and America, that the young giant of Democracy now struggled most vigorously. His efforts spread abroad, and it is as we travel farther and farther

into the calm and ancient East that we see the most spectacular evidences of his coming world-dominion.

In the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, elected as the champion of the common people against all the interests of "privilege," held the Presidency for almost this entire decade (1901–1909). But the actual progress which his country made in curbing the inevitable avarice of wealth was not sufficient to be spectacular. In England a "Conservative" government, which had ruled Parliament for twenty years, was superseded in 1905 by a combined government of the "Liberal" and "Labor" parties. But the Conservatives found so many means to check and thwart their more democratic successors that, for a while at least, Liberalism made no obvious advance in England. Rather, it stood pilloried, a laughing stock among the nations because of its apparent impotence, baited by its foes.

If, however, we turn away from these first champions of the "Rights of Man," and fix our gaze upon earth's other extreme, we find all Asia in an amazing ferment. There is small doubt that when future ages look back upon this particular decade of the world's life, they will speak of it as the period of the "Awakening of Asia."

DEMOCRACY IN THE EAST

Japan had aroused herself a generation before, and had seen the necessity of adopting the Western civilization, or of perishing before it. But despite the Western veneer which Japan hastily spread over her ancient manners, she retained her faith in autocracy. Her Emperor was still a divinely appointed ruler to be blindly obeyed. The first generation of Japanese reformers had no faintest conception of government by the people. Thus with their odd combination of new knowledge and old obedience the patriots of the new Japan became peculiarly fitted for their task of saving the East from Europe. Russia, in overweening confidence in her European superiority, dominated too grossly over Japan, and the result was the most tremendous war of modern times. Russia, with all her enormous resources, was fought to a standstill by that furor of the Japanese, which added to the

cold skill of modern weapons all the incalculable self-sacrifice of ancient fanaticism.[1]

In its immediate effect this great war was important because it closed the period which we have traced in our preceding volume, the period of Europe's arrogant and unchecked appropriation of Asiatic territory. In its secondary effects the war seems likely to prove even more important. The utter exhaustion to which Japan was reduced prevented her from carrying out any further dreams of conquest. On the other hand, the evidence that Asiatics, when properly trained in war, fight on a full equality with Europeans, became of world-wide significance. It restored China to a most far-reaching self-confidence.

In the previous generation the Chinese had been easily defeated by the French in Tonking, ridiculously defeated by the Japanese in the war of 1894, sternly crushed by a mere handful of Europeans in the Boxer trouble, and brushed aside like mere buzzing gnats by the Russians in Manchuria. China had sunk into a hopeless apathy of submission to her fate. But the Japanese victory opened her eyes to her real possibilities. The Chinese are as intelligent as the Japanese, as brave, as indifferent to death, and ten times as numerous. There may easily come a day when the awakening of Japan will only be mentioned as a prelude to that awakening of China which began with startling vigor in 1905.[2]

Moreover, this rousing of China was essentially a democratic movement. The feeble Manchu emperors had little part in it; the native Chinese themselves were the leaders; and all their clamor was for a "constitution," for self-government. Swarms of petitioners besieged the court rulers, demanding this. Finally the court yielded, perforce, and sent embassies abroad to study the methods of constitutional rule. China began to take courage in her dealing with Europe; and the United States became her chief friend, aiding her with advice, with money, and even with the shadowy hint of a mighty fleet prepared to protect her against aggression.

[1] See *The Russo-Japanese War*, page 92.
[2] See *The Awakening of China*, page 176.

Nor was it only in China that the preachings of democracy bore fruit. India, which had so long submitted helplessly to England's rule, began to murmur, to discuss in her bazaars this strange new shibboleth of "The Rights of Man," and to appeal for self-government not as a prize for which the land would fight, but as a matter of justice which a people who professed belief in justice could not long deny. So, too, in Egypt, the Mohammedan raised his voice against his English teacher and master, asking self-rule, clamoring for it stubbornly and perhaps foolishly, a child clutching at something he is utterly incapable of handling—but yet a sign of the times, of Democracy in the East.

Even more surprising was the revolution in Persia.[1] Here was a nation of people who had been long regarded as utterly spiritless, trampled on by one native oppressor after another, only saved from European aggression by their remoteness and their poverty. Now even these Persians seemed suddenly to recall their two-thousand-year-old ancestry, the days when they had been a great, free race. They rose in revolt against their Shah, not fighting at first, but employing a weird, peculiar method of silent protest, all their own. They entreated help from England, and received it. They mastered one Shah by their protests, drove a second into exile by force of arms, and set up a parliamentary government.

Turkey, too, an empire far more Asiatic than European, felt the summons of the age. The Turkish Sultans had ruled as absolute autocrats for centuries, a despotism tempered only by assassination. The reigning Sultan had held sway for over thirty years, with a mastery more assured than any recent predecessor. He was strong in the unlimited corruption which he permitted his officials, holding all his people utterly helpless, watching them by the most widespread system of spies the world has ever known, and striking down any man who dared the faintest protest. Suddenly, as by a whirlwind, a revolution overwhelmed him.[2] His unsuspected opponents, the "Young Turks," snatched his power from him, and established a Turkish parliament. They pledged their

[1] See *The Persian Revolution*, page 253.
[2] See *The Turkish Revolution*, page 278.

country to Democracy. Even Turkey, long called the "unspeakable" for its treacherous cruelty, was now to have a millennium rule. There the lion and the lamb were indeed to lie down together; Mohammedan and Christian were to be equal. Fierce Turk and subtle Greek, tortured Slav and savage Kurd were to embrace as brothers.

Toward this new Turkish Eden, Europe unhappily displayed a cynicism, rooted perhaps as much in fear of its success as in suspicion of its philanthropy. Turkey's neighbors had long been waiting for the exhausted empire to fall apart, so that they might seize its territories. This revolution seemed at least a favorable moment of weakness, possibly to be followed by growing strength. So Austria promptly took possession of two Turkish provinces; and Bulgaria, which had been nominally subject to Turkey, proclaimed its complete independence, its ruler changing his title from prince to that of czar.[1] Yet, despite these aggressions, the Young Turks continued, not unsuccessfully, their effort toward government by the people.

DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

We have thus traced the influence of the great Russo-Japanese war upon Asia, in the burst of hope and self-confidence which rejuvenated its natives and made them seek everywhere to establish modern government. Let us look now to the influence of the war upon Russia herself. During this decade Russia had also her awakening to democracy, and passed through such a period of tumult as she had not known since Napoleon's invasion. It was in Russia, indeed, that the old spirit and the new, Autocracy and Democracy, came into sharpest conflict: Here was the center of the struggle in which the whole world has been engaged, consciously or unconsciously, the struggle of privilege to maintain its perquisites in opposition to the steady onrush of the masses.

Russia opened the century with the set purpose of strengthening herself by "Russianizing" all the millions of folk of

[1] See *The Expansion of Austria and Bulgaria*, page 302.

many nationalities who dwelt within her vast territories. She began operations with the Finns, who had always been self-governing. Now Russia proceeded to take away, one by one, the ancient rights of the Finns, and sought even to compel them to use the Russian language. The hopeless victims, seeing armed resistance was useless, emigrated to America by thousands. So Russia held her hand a bit, lest she should find her rule extending over only a desert. Far more savage was her treatment of the Jews. These deeply religious people opposed, most obstinately of all her subjects, the effort to force upon them the Russian faith. As a result, repeated massacres of Jews were permitted, and even encouraged, culminating in the horror at Kishineff.[1]

These reactions to the methods of medieval savagery occurred before the Japanese War. The immediate effect of that crushing disaster was to upset all Russia's internal plans. The great mass of her common people were aroused to a sense of the government's incompleteness and also of its weakness. They were ripe for revolution; and so threatening was the danger on every side, that the government resorted everywhere to conciliation. It made peace with Japan; it restored all Finland's former laws, it flattered its Polish subjects in Warsaw; it even made promises of kindness to the Jews. But all was of no avail. The people everywhere clamored for a constitution. They fought for it. In every district there were strikes, uprisings, savagely repressed by the Cossack troops. Thousands were slain; Russia was stained from end to end with the blood of her noblest citizens.[2]

Thus the mass of Russian people were at one with Asia in their dream of Democracy. Autocracy seemed everywhere at its last gasp. But the Russian autocrat and his advisers proved very clever. They promised their people the desired constitution, as indeed they had promised everybody everything. Then they held elections, they gathered a parliament, and they let it talk. All these preliminaries took much time; the excitement of the people quieted down; the government had space to breathe; it recovered its exhausted forces. Finally

[1] See *Kishineff, the Medieval Outbreak against the Jews*, page 23.
[2] See *The Russian Revolution*, page 122.

it felt strong enough to repudiate its promises; it dismissed the first parliament it had allowed to gather; and though other parliaments have since been regularly held, they have been given little real power. Thus Russia remains nearly an autocracy. Yet even there Democracy has planted an entering footstep upon the threshold; and the future may show the young giant stronger than his foemen know.

The same forces which thus shook Asia and Russia to their foundations, surged also through Western Europe, though not with equal vehemence. Austria was stirred with the clamor of the contending races which make up her complicated monarchy. She tried to satisfy all these, by giving to each race some representation in her parliament. But each of the subject peoples, being thus recognized, was eager for further recognition. Democracy had touched them all; and the Bohemians demanded a separate government with the full establishment of themselves as a separate nation. So did the Slavs, and the Poles, and others long humiliated and quiescent. Austria's parliament became a veritable bear garden wherein the champions of various causes shrieked and scrabbled and fought, and threatened almost literally to tear one another into pieces. In this confusion and quarreling of many diverse peoples lay autocracy's strength; and the Austrian sovereigns seem really to have grown stronger, by letting their subjects demonstrate the impossibility of their establishing any harmony among themselves without the sovereign's guidance.

More fortunate has been the cause of the people in northern Europe, and more clearly progressive. With each passing election the mass of common folk have more and more demonstrated their power and seized upon equality. Especially has this been evidenced in the separation of Norway from Sweden.[1] Here were two countries, the people of which had never cared for one another, yet they had been arbitrarily linked by the will of Europe's monarchs a century ago. Sweden had always been an aristocratic land ruled by its upper classes. Even to-day only 30 per cent. of its menfolk have votes. Norway is a land wholly without any nobility,

[1] See *Norway Establishes Her Independence*, page 161.

a nation of peasants. The Swedes have always looked upon these peasants as inferiors; and the Norwegians have resented this and demanded independence. For years they struggled for this goal, and finally attained it in 1905. So here was another country added to the European map, a wholly and vehemently democratic one.

In Western Europe the struggle has been less plainly marked. The governments of most of the great western nations are just and wise. They rule by appeal to the faith and intelligence of their people. Hence in these States the majority of the middle classes uphold the government. The frenzied voice of revolution appeals to only a small fraction of the discontented. The German government, for instance, taxed its people most heavily during this decade, but it insisted that it did so in the cause of "patriotism," and the people bowed, not unwillingly, to the necessity. In France a party calling itself Radical was in control. In the name of "progress," it embroiled the State with the Catholic Church; and in the name of "progress" the people, though mostly Catholic themselves, permitted the government to have its way.[1]

In this French dispute we behold one of the last phases of a strife far older than that of democracy, a strife that has come down through many ages, as to the part religion is to play in political government. Times have been when a priestly or "theocratic" government held all power. Europe itself bowed to theocracy in the crusading days; but gradually the wisdom of the ages has separated Church and State until to-day the idea of a "state church," one particular form of worship to be supported by the government, is almost an anachronism. England still, but dubiously, upholds the Episcopal Church. Spain and Austria still officially support Catholicism. So did France, until now her radical leaders, with much of ill-considered oratorical vehemence, and something of rather necessary violence, broke the ancient "concordat" which bound their country to the Roman Pope.

Church and State may both ultimately prove the stronger for this separation. At least the alliance of Church and State

[1] See *The Separation of Church and State in France*, page 230.

did not work very satisfactorily in Spain during this decade. In Spain the discontent of the laboring classes had long seethed helplessly. The mass of the people were either too ignorant or too idle for a democracy, too unready to assume the duties of self-government except under compulsion. So the Spanish upper classes, almost perforce, ruled somewhat as the Russian nobles have, autocratically. And in Spain, as in Russia, autocracy bred anarchy. There were frequent outbreaks; and in 1909 the government attempted the Russian method of dealing with one of these, executing a noted "philosophical" anarchist on a most flimsy pretext of his participation in the revolt.[1] The extent to which justice has really grown to rule the western world was evidenced by the wide and vigorous protest which Spain drew upon herself, not through love of her victim, but through scorn at her indifference to honest dealing and anger at her perversion of judicial forms.

Another and similar outburst of public feeling, honorable to mankind, was that which arose from the "Congo Horror." [2] King Leopold, of Belgium, had been granted by the European powers control over a large portion of central Africa known as the Congo Free State. Gradually whispers began to spread around the world declaring that the region was being ruled by means of hideous cruelties to the natives. These rumors were exaggerated, perhaps grossly; but there was some truth behind them, and the picture so stirred men's minds that associations sprang up everywhere to compel reform. These finally roused both the American Government and that of England to make active protest, and the rule of the Congo region was transferred from Leopold to his country. The so-called Free State was made freer and safer, at least for its natives, by being annexed to Belgium.

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

In thus turning our gaze toward the acts of England and America we come to events more placid, but more honorably notable. During this decade there occurred two notable

[1] See *Clash of Anarchy and Clericalism in Spain*, page 370.
[2] See *The Reform of the Congo Horror*, page 326.

triumphs in the cause of arbitration, of the substitution of justice for might as the deciding force in the disputes of nations. The first of these was the settlement of the boundary between Alaska and Canada. This boundary had been but loosely outlined in ancient treaties and seemed unimportant. But the discovery of gold and other mineral wealth in these regions suddenly made the exact position of the line a matter of serious weight. Each of the two neighbors insisted strenuously on settling the dispute according to its own interests. Such a question might easily have led to war; and when it was finally referred by joint consent to an arbitral committee and the decision of that body was accepted, all the world felt that peace had won a victory worth more than those of war.[1]

So, too, the troubles of Venezuela were submitted to arbitration, this time on the insistence of the United States. The South American countries have become notorious as hotbeds of revolutions, and Venezuela is known as the worst bad boy among them all, the *enfant terrible* among the nations. The Venezuelan pranks were growing even more offensive than usual along in 1903, and all Europe was fairly aching to spank the youngster. Only by a most resolute insistence upon the old Monroe Doctrine was the United States enabled to stay the European Powers from taking forceful possession of Venezuelan territory.[2]

Nor was it only in South America that the United States appeared as the strong champion of fair play. In the Philippines she had previously undertaken the difficult task of teaching the natives the art of self-government, promising them freedom as soon as they should prove themselves fitted for it. This promise she carried forward by establishing a native assembly and transferring to it, step by step, as much power as it showed itself capable of exercising wisely. Over the negro republic of San Domingo she also established a protectorate, compelling the natives to cease from the brutal misrule by which they had long disgraced civilization, and seeking to guide them into a higher wisdom. In Cuba when

[1] See *The Alaskan Boundary Settlement*, page 50.
[2] See *The Venezuelan Arbitration*, page 82.

anarchy threatened, the United States intervened again, as she had done before, to restore order. Then she again withdrew and left the Cubans to their own government.

At home also the people of America began a remarkable movement, the results of which have already become world-wide. This was the new patriotism, the patriotism for posterity, which goes under the name of the "Conservation of natural resources." [1] On the American Continent men had been, as in every other newly developed region, wasteful of their surroundings, chopping down forests, ruining farmlands, blocking the course of rivers, heedlessly destroying mineral wealth. The physical "bankruptcy of the world" began to be a visible menace of the future. America awoke to this danger and began the active work of protecting her resources, a far-sighted policy, which has now been taken up by all civilized people.

The United States had yet another opportunity of seeing within her own borders the progress of humanity as evidenced both by man's charity and by his energy and courage. In the year 1906 the Pacific coast faced one of the most startling and unexpected calamities by which any community was ever visited. San Francisco, the metropolis of the coast, was shaken by an earthquake, and from this sprang a conflagration which destroyed the city. Instead of giving way to the terror of flight or the despair of submission, the survivors of the disaster gathered as one man and reerected their city, building it better, fairer, and more splendid than before.[2]

A similar, but even more disastrous earthquake, drew the attention of the world to Southern Italy in 1908. The city of Messina was utterly destroyed, and here it was the sudden earth-shock itself that made the destruction, so that there was no time for the victims to escape, as from the fire that swept San Francisco. Over a hundred thousand lives were lost in Italy, the convulsion being thus the most deadly yet recorded in human history.[3] Italy, however, has had long experience of such disaster, the shock was not unher-

[1] See *Conservation*, page 267.
[2] See *San Francisco Fall and Recovery*, page 216.
[3] See *The Earthquake of Messina*, page 339.

alded, unprecedented, as at San Francisco, bursting on a region supposedly wholly safe. Always Southern Italy lives under the menace of its volcanoes; but the wonderful fertility and beauty of the land lures its victims back after each destruction. They must live! And where is life so easy or so idle?

In both of these great national disasters man's humanity to man was well displayed. Offers of help poured in upon the ruined cities from every nation. Charity was outstretched beyond the narrowing bounds of country, and all civilized mankind aided mankind.

THE SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

So far in this brief review we have traced the sociological side of history, man in his intercourse with his fellows, in his efforts at communal life. By this means we have seen that the decade was truly remarkable for the great strides made toward universal Democracy. It was no less noteworthy for man's intellectual and scientific progress. New light was shed on many of our most fundamental ideas. Our knowledge was expanded both as to the past and the future, as to man's ancient history, the construction of his world, and the conditions under which he must dwell here in the centuries yet to come.

By the discovery of the strange new metal, radium, scientists were led on to the further discovery that the elements themselves are not permanent, that they may be changed one into another, that they are mere forms of electrical phenomena.[1] Matter itself, which has seemed the most solid and eternal basis of life, perhaps exists only as a manifestation of force, as a result of shifting electrical conditions. So that the wisdom of the poet foresaw truly a time when

> "The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded
> Leave not a rack behind."

In further confirmation of the new knowledge has come the work of Burbank in the plant world. He has shown us

[1] See *Radium and the Transmutation of Metals*, page 1.

that the species of plants, and presumably of animals as well, are not really separate creations fixed forever by divine mandate, but are changing forms growing one out of another. So that man himself can produce new species, at least in the simple "vegetable" world, molding life almost to his will.[1]

In another direction, also, during this decade, man increased his control over Nature, his knowledge of what seems the central region of her power, electricity. Truly has the twentieth century been denominated the electrical age. Before its beginning the telegraph and the telephone had become among the necessities of life. But now these were followed by the widespread use of the phonograph giving electrical music, and by the electric motor, giving new modes of cooking and cleaning and toil and transportation. Then came the moving pictures; and, as the most marvelous product of all, the wireless telegraphy. This latter was slowly developed during the decade into a practical usable thing, especially for ships at sea. Its employment has changed the whole spirit of sea life, and turned even shipwreck, the most awful terror and mystery of the past, into a minor danger and a less secret tragedy.[2]

While we have thus learned to look with clearer eyes into both the present and the future, this same decade expanded strikingly our knowledge of the past. One of our foremost scientists contrasts the present age with that of Queen Elizabeth, saying that in her time explorers first learned what the world is really like, and that now we are first learning what it used to be. Archeologists have been digging everywhere among the sites of the earliest civilizations, and have learned much. In the ancient Asiatic land of Babylonia, an American expedition explored the ruins of what appears the earliest city yet known.[3] They unearthed evidence that men of a considerable degree of art and civilization dwelt in Babylonia at least five thousand, and probably ten thousand, years before the time of Christ. They learned something of what manner of men these were. In Egypt, also, the excavators

[1] See *The Scientific Creation of New Forms of Life*, page 144.
[2] See *The Triumph of Wireless*, page 354.
[3] See *Rediscovery of Earth's Oldest City*, page 73.

began to gather knowledge of the race that existed there before the Pharoahs or the pyramids. Equally impressive and of more immediate interest to our present generation were the discoveries made in the Grecian island of Crete. There the origin of all Greek, and hence of all modern, literature was found to date back, not to the Phœnicians, who had previously been accepted as inventors of the alphabet, but to the Cretans. Thus our alphabet itself was derived from this Greek or at least Ægean people. They were also probably the earliest sailors; and, at a time far antedating our previous knowledge of the Greeks or even of their legendary days, the Cretan king Minos built up the first naval power of the Mediterranean.[1]

From Minos to Peary is a long sweep. The decade which thus learned of the beginnings of naval exploration, saw also its culmination and close in the discovery of the North Pole by Admiral Peary. For over three centuries men had struggled to penetrate this last of the unknown waterways of the world. Peary accomplished it in 1909 and set the American flag at the northern extremity of earth.[2] Some inaccessible land spots still remain unknown to civilized man, the center of South America, a few bits of tropic Africa, the heart of the Antarctic continent. But wherever water flows and ship can go, there man had gone before the end of this vigorous and progressive decade.

[1] See *Discovery of the Origin of European Culture*, page 202.
[2] See *Discovery of the North Pole*, page 394.

RADIUM AND THE TRANSMUTATION OF METALS

A.D. 1903

MME. MARIE CURIE SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY SIR OLIVER LODGE

The dream of alchemy has come true. Our scientists of to-day have seen with their own eyes the thing which their predecessors had for centuries ridiculed as an absurdity. We have watched while one element, a metal supposedly unchangeable and eternal, disintegrated and turned into another. The ancient alchemists dreamed of turning lead or copper into gold. We have not accomplished this; probably we shall never accomplish it. But we have been compelled to reconstruct our most fundamental scientific theories as to the permanence of matter. Upon the basic idea that the elements were eternal and unchangeable, we had founded all our knowledge of the material universe. Now our scientific thinkers are reaching out in new directions; they have been set tossing on a boundless sea of wonderment and awe.

This change sprang not merely from the discovery of radium, which was first revealed in 1898 by the two able French chemists, M. Curie and his wife. Their discovery simply added a new element to the eighty or more already known. But the new element had strange properties that drew all chemists to investigating it; and in the year 1903 several experimenters reached the startling conclusion of radium's change into other metals. The honor of this remarkable and far-reaching discovery must thus be apportioned among various scientists. M. Curie died in 1906, but his wife continued alone along their path of investigation. Professor Rutherford of Montreal and Professor Soddy of Glasgow are among those who have shared with her most prominently in the surprising series of discoveries. We give here Mme. Curie's own explanation of her work, then the first hesitant acceptance of the new idea by a great leading scientist, Sir Oliver Lodge, and then the later full review of the meaning of the facts as recognized by Sir William Ramsay, President of the British Science Association.

More recent experiments seem to bring copper also within the list of transmutable metals. Indeed, as an American scientist recently summed up our present knowledge: "The elements may no longer be considered

immutable. Matter is probably of but a single sort, of which our commonest elements represent the more stable forms, which have resulted from a process of natural evolution."

MME. MARIE CURIE

WHEN one reviews the progress made in the department of physics within the last ten years, he is struck by the change which has taken place in the fundamental ideas concerning the nature of electricity and matter. The change has been brought about in part by researches on the electric conductivity of gas, and in part by the discovery and study of the phenomena of radioactivity. It is, I believe, far from being finished, and we may well be sanguine of future developments. One point which appears to-day to be definitely settled is a view of atomic structure of electricity, which goes to conform and complete the idea that we have long held regarding the atomic structure of matter, which constitutes the basis of chemical theories.

At the same time that the existence of electric atoms, indivisible by our present means of research, appears to be established with certainty, the important properties of these atoms are also shown. The atoms of negative electricity, which we call electrons, are found to exist in a free state, independent of all material atoms, and not having any properties in common with them. In this state they possess certain dimensions in space, and are endowed with a certain inertia, which has suggested the idea of attributing to them a corresponding mass.

Experiments have shown that their dimensions are very small compared with those of material molecules, and that their mass is only a small fraction, not exceeding one one-thousandth of the mass of an atom of hydrogen. They show also that if these atoms can exist isolated, they may also exist in all ordinary matter, and may be in certain cases emitted by a substance such as a metal without its properties being changed in a manner appreciable by us.

If, then, we consider the electrons as a form of matter, we are led to put the division of them beyond atoms and to admit the existence of a kind of extremely small particles, able to

enter into the composition of atoms, but not necessarily by their departure involving atomic destruction. Looking at it in this light, we are led to consider every atom as a complicated structure, and this supposition is rendered probable by the complexity of the emission spectra which characterize the different atoms. We have thus a conception sufficiently exact of the atoms of negative electricity.

It is not the same for positive electricity, for a great dissimilarity appears to exist between the two electricities. Positive electricity appears always to be found in connection with material atoms, and we have no reason, thus far, to believe that they can be separated. Our knowledge relative to matter is also increased by an important fact. A new property of matter has been discovered which has received the name of radioactivity. Radioactivity is the property which the atoms of certain substances possess of shooting off particles, some of which have a mass comparable to that of the atoms themselves, while the others are the electrons. This property, which uranium and thorium possess in a slight degree, has led to the discovery of a new chemical element, radium, whose radioactivity is very great. Among the particles expelled by radium are some which are ejected with great velocity, and their expulsion is accompanied with a considerable evolution of heat. A radioactive body constitutes then a source of energy.

According to the theory which best accounts for the phenomena of radioactivity, a certain proportion of the atoms of a radioactive body is transformed in a given time, with the production of atoms of less atomic weight, and in some cases with the expulsion of electrons. This is a theory of the transmutation of elements, but differs from the dreams of the alchemists in that we declare ourselves, for the present at least, unable to induce or influence the transmutation. Certain facts go to show that radioactivity appertains in a slight degree to all kinds of matter. It may be, therefore, that matter is far from being as unchangeable or inert as it was formerly thought; and is, on the contrary, in continual transformation, although this transformation escapes our notice by its relative slowness.

Let us now consider the essential facts revealed by the

study of radioactive substances, and examine them from the point of view of the hypothesis of the atomic transformation of matter. Among the radioactive elements, some appear to be permanently active (uranium, thorium, radium, actinium), while others lose their radioactivity little by little (polonium). The most powerful representative of the permanently radioactive substances is radium. According to the theory of transformation this substance changes very slowly, so that a given mass of radium would lose half its weight only in several thousand years. Consequently the quantity of radium which disappears from a gram of this substance in an hour is absolutely inaccessible to experiments. However, a gram of radium disengages each hour about 100 calories of heat. To conceive how enormous this disengagement of heat is, we remark that during the life attributable to radium the complete transformation of a gram of this substance would produce as much heat as the combustion of a ton of coal. The transformation of radium, then, if transformation there be, is not to be regarded as an ordinary chemical reaction, for the quantity of heat involved is of a far higher order. One is led to conceive, rather, that the atoms themselves are transformed, for the quantities of energy put in play in the formation of atoms are probably considerable.

Indeed, the phenomenon of radioactivity has a palpably atomic character, which was brought to light in the beginning of researches on the subject. It was precisely the absolute conviction that we were dealing with an atomic phenomenon which led M. Curie and me to the discovery of radium. If the radioactivity can not be separated from the atom it is very difficult to conceive anything but the atom itself involved in the transformation.

The effects produced by radium are very powerful, considering how small is the quantity of this substance at disposal for experiments. There is a spontaneous and continuous emission of rays, analogous to those which we know are produced by means of an induction coil in a Crookes tube, and these rays produce ionization of gas in the same manner. They are able, for example, to produce the rapid discharge of an electroscope. The energy of the rays is so great that

the discharge is produced even across a thick metallic screen, for the rays can traverse such a screen.

Some of the rays comprise electrified particles moving with very great velocity. Some are charged positively, and their dimensions are comparable with those of atoms; while others are negative electrons, whose electric charge may be shown by direct experiments. Admitting that all these projectiles come from the atoms of radium themselves, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the departure of a positive particle must necessarily cause a modification of the atom which expels it.

Among the electrons emitted there are some whose velocity is enormous, and is in fact no less than nine-tenths the velocity of light. It has been found that the mass of these projectiles (which are the most rapid that we know of) is greater than that of slower-moving electrons, and this result may be considered as a confirmation of the theory according to which the mass of an electron is regarded as the result of electromagnetic phenomena.

The energy of the rays of radium is also manifested by their capacity for exciting the luminosity of various phosphorescent substances. Radium salts are, indeed, themselves luminous. and the light is readily visible in certain conditions.

Here are now a new series of facts which are interpreted by the theory of radioactive transformation. Radium disengages continuously a substance which behaves like a gaseous radioactive material and which has received the name of *the emanation*. Air which has been in contact with a solution of radium salts is charged with *the emanation*, and may be drawn away and studied. Air containing the emanation is strongly conducting. A sealed glass tube in which the emanation has been imprisoned acts on the outside like a radioactive substance, and is able, for example, to discharge an electroscope. When the emanation is drawn into a flash containing zinc sulphide, the latter becomes luminous. The emanation is an unstable gas and spontaneously disappears, even from a sealed glass tube, at a rate in accord with a strict law, by which a given quantity of emanation diminishes by half in about four days. The emanation possesses the property of impart-

ing radioactivity to all the bodies in contact with it, and such bodies are said to possess induced radioactivity.

In the theory of atomic transformation the emanation of radium is the first product of disintegration and is transformed in its turn. The induced radioactivity to which it gives rise is considered as due to a solid radioactive material, which results from the transformation of the radium emanation. Three different radioactive materials are distinguished in the induced radioactivity, which constitute three successive terms of the transformation. Each transformation is also accompanied by the emission of rays, and the expelled particles are also counted among the resulting products.

Induced radioactivity does not disappear completely; but there remains after the lapse of a day a very feeble residue which persists in part for years, and which is believed to be adding new terms to the series of successive transformations.

A new fact of great interest has come to the support of the theory of the transmutation of radioactive substances, and has, indeed, made it almost indispensable. It has been proved that radium, a perfectly definite chemical element, produces continually another perfectly definite chemical element, helium (Ramsay and Soddy). It is admitted that helium is one of the products of the disintegration of the atom of radium, and it is noteworthy that helium occurs in all the radium-bearing minerals.

The theory of the radioactive transformation has been extended to all the radioactive bodies, and investigations have been made to determine if the radioactive substances heretofore considered as elements are not to be derived from one another. The origin of radium itself has been sought in uranium. It is well known that radium is found in the uranium-bearing minerals, and it appears from recent researches that the proportion between the quantities of radium and uranium is the same in all these minerals. Uranium may, then, be thought of as a mother substance, which disintegrates with extreme slowness, giving place to the production of radium and the products which succeed it. It appears also to be probable that the last term of the radioactive series is polonium. It may be recalled that uranium was the sub-

stance in which the property of radioactivity was discovered by M. Becquerel, and polonium is the first new substance which was discovered by the aid of radioactivity.

A series of analogous considerations has been established for another radioactive substance—thorium. In this case thorium as a primary substance generates radiothorium, a substance recently discovered, which gives rise to the gaseous radioactive emanation of thorium and various products of radioactivity induced by this emanation. Actinium also gives place to a series of transformations similar to those of thorium, and it, like radium, produces helium.

I have already stated that radioactivity is a general property of matter. If the theory of radioactive transformation continues to inspire a growing degree of confidence, it will result in an important consequence for geology, and will lead to a careful study of the proportions of the elements occurring in rocks, with a view to deduce their relative ages.

It is plain that the hypothesis of radioactive transformation is well adapted to the present state of the science of radioactivity. It was among those proposed by M. Curie and myself at the beginning of our researches on radioactivity; but it has received its precise development by Rutherford and Soddy, to whom it is for this reason generally attributed. It seems to me, however, better not to leave the domain of demonstrated facts, and not to lose sight of other explanations of radioactivity which have been proposed. The actual state of the science does not seem to me far enough advanced to warrant a positive conclusion.

In closing, the general importance of the phenomena of radioactivity may be recalled. For physics the radioactive substances constitute a new implement of research in consequence of the rays they emit, and they have actively contributed to the development of the theory of the conduction of gas and of the nature of the electron. By their numerous chemical and physiological effects, and their possible influence on meteorology, these substances extend their sphere of action in the domain of all the science of nature; and it is probable that their importance for the development of science will go on increasing. Finally, it has been shown that there is nothing

absurd in supposing that the energy we receive from the sun may be in part, or even in total, due to the presence of radioactive bodies which it may contain.

SIR OLIVER LODGE

Radium, like other far less active substances previously discovered, is constantly emitting, without apparent diminution, three kinds of rays: rays called γ, which appear to be chiefly of the same nature as the x-rays of Röntgen; rays called β, or cathodic, which are found to consist of extremely minute flying corpuscles or electrons negatively charged; and rays called a, which appear to be composed of projected and positively charged atoms of matter flying away at an immense speed measured by Professor Rutherford, of Montreal. The whole power of emission is designated radioactivity, or spontaneous radioactivity to distinguish it from the variety which can be artificially excited in several ways, and was discovered in the first instance as a bare experimental fact by M. Becquerel. The most prominent, the most usually and easily demonstrated kind, are the β rays; for these possess remarkable penetrating power and can excite phosphorescent substances or affect photographic plates and electroscopes after passing through a great length of air or even through an inch of solid iron. But although these are the most conspicuous, they are not the most important. The most important by far are the a rays, the flinging off of atoms of matter. It is probable that everything else is subordinate to this effect and can be regarded as a secondary and natural consequence of it.

For instance, undoubtedly radium or any salt of radium has the power of constantly generating heat: M. Curie has satisfactorily demonstrated this important fact. Not that it is to be supposed that a piece of radium is perceptibly warm, if exposed so that the heat can escape as fast as generated—it can then only be a trifle warmer than its surroundings; but when properly packed in a heat-insulating enclosure it can keep itself five degrees Fahrenheit above the temperature of any other substance enclosed in a similar manner; or when submerged in liquid air it can boil away that liquid faster

than can a similar weight of anything else. Everything else, indeed, would rapidly get cooled down to the liquid-air temperature, and then cease to have any further effect; but radium, by reason of its heat-generating power, will go on evaporating the liquid continually, in spite of its surface having been reduced to the liquid-air temperature. But it is clear that this emission of heat is a necessary consequence of the vigorous atomic bombardment—at least, if it can be shown that the emission is due to some process occurring inside the atom itself, and not to any subsidiary or surrounding influences. Now that is just one of the features which are most conspicuous. Tested by any of the methods known, the radioactivity of radium appears to be constant and inalienable. Its power never deserts it. Whichever of its known chemical compounds be employed, the element itself in each is equally effective. At a red heat, or at the fearfully low temperature of liquid hydrogen, its activity continues; nothing that can be done to it destroys its radioactivity, nor even appears to diminish or increase it. It is a property of the atoms themselves, without regard, or without much regard, to their physical surroundings or to their chemical combination with the atoms of other substances. And this is one of the facts which elevate the whole phenomenon into a position of first-class importance.

The most striking test for radioactivity is the power of exciting phosphorescence in suitable substances: as, for instance, in diamond. Sir Wm. Crookes has shown that by bringing a scrap of radium, wrapped in any convenient opaque envelope, near a diamond in the dark, it glows brilliantly; whereas the "paste" variety remains dull. But although the excitation of phosphorescence is the most striking test and proof of the power of radioactivity, because it appeals so directly to the eye, it is by no means the most delicate test; and if that had been our only means of observation, the property would be still a long way from being discovered. It was the far weaker power of a few substances—substances found in Nature and not requiring special extraction and concentration, such as Madame Curie applied to tons of the oxide-of-uranium mineral called "pitchblende" in order to extract a

minute amount of its concentrated active element—it was the far weaker power of naturally existing substances such as that of pitchblende itself, of thorium, and originally of uranium, which led to the discovery of radioactivity. And none of these substances is strong enough to excite visible phosphorescence. Their influence can be accumulated on a photographic plate for minutes, or hours, or days together, and then on developing the plate their radioactive record can be seen; but it is insufficient to appeal direct to the eye. In this photographic way the power of a number of minerals has been tested.

The emission of atoms does not seem, at first hearing, a very singular procedure on the part of matter. Many forms of matter can evaporate, and many others emit scent; wherein, then, lies the peculiarity of radioactive substances, if the power of flinging away of atoms at tremendous speed is their central feature? It all depends on what sort of atoms they are. If they are particles of the substance itself, there is nothing novel in it except the high speed; but if it should turn out that the atoms flung off belong to quite a different substance—if one elementary body can be proved to throw off another elementary body—then clearly there is something worthy of stringent inquiry. Now, Rutherford has measured the atomic weight of the atoms thrown off, and has shown that they constitute less than 1 per cent. of the atoms whence they are projected; and that they probably consist of the metal helium.

But the radioactivity of the substance itself—a substance like radium or thorium—is by no means the whole of what has to be described. When the emission has occurred, when the light atoms have been thrown off, it is clear that something must be left behind; and the properties of that substance must be examined too. It appears to be a kind of heavy gas, which remains in the pores of the radium salt and slowly diffuses away. It can be drawn off more rapidly by a wind or current of air, and when passed over suitable phosphorescent substances it causes them to glow. It is, in fact, itself radioactive, as the radium was; but its chemical nature is at present partly unknown. Its activity soon ceases, however, gradually

fading away, so that in a few days or weeks it is practically gone. It leaves a radioactive deposit on surfaces over which it has passed; a deposit which is a different substance again, and whose chemical nature is likewise different and unknown. The amount of substance in these emanations and deposits is incredibly small, and yet by reason of their radioactivity, and the sensitiveness of our tests for that emission, they can be detected, and their properties to some extent examined. Thus, for instance, the solid deposit left behind by the radium emanation can be dissolved off by suitable reagents, and can then be precipitated or evaporated to dryness and treated in other chemical ways, although nothing is visible or weighable or detectable by any known means except the means of radioactivity. So that directly one of the chain of substances which emanate from a radioactive substance ceases to possess that particular kind of activity, it passes out of recognition; and what happens to it after that, or what further changes take place in it, remains at present absolutely unknown. So it is quite possible that these emanations and deposits and other products of spontaneous change may be emitted by many, perhaps all, kinds of matter, without our knowing anything whatever about it.

That being so, what is the meaning of the series of facts which have been here hastily summarized; and how are they to be accounted for? Here we come to the hypothetic and at present incompletely verified speculations and surmises, the possible truth of which is arousing the keenest interest. There are people who wish to warm their houses and cook their food and drive their engines and make some money by means of radium; it is possible that these are doomed to disappointment, though it is always rash to predict anything whatever in the negative direction, and I would not be understood as making any prediction or indicating any kind of opinion, on the subject of possible practical applications of the substance, except, as we may hope, to medicine. Applications have their place, and in due time may come within the range of practicability, though there is no appearance of them at present. Meanwhile the real points of interest are none of these, but of a quite other order. The easiest way to make

them plain is to state them as if they were certain, and not confuse the statement by constant reference to hypothesis: guarding myself from the beginning by what I have already said as to the speculative character of some of the assertions now going to be made.

Atoms of matter are not simple, but complex; each is composed of an aggregate of smaller bodies in a state of rapid interlocked motion, restrained and coerced into orbits by electrical forces. An atom so constituted is fairly stable and perennial, but not infinitely stable or eternal. Every now and then one atom in a million, or rather in a million millions, gets into an unstable state, and is then liable to break up. A very minute fraction of the whole number of the atoms of a substance do thus actually break up, probably by reason of an excessive velocity in some of their moving parts; an approach to the speed of light in some of their internal motions —perhaps the maximum speed which matter can ever attain— being presumably the cause of the instability. When the break-up occurs, the rapidly moving fragment flies away tangentially, with enormous speed—twenty thousand miles a second—and constitutes the *a* ray of main emission.

If the flying fragment strikes a phosphorescent obstacle, it makes a flash of light; if it strikes (as many must) other atoms of the substance itself, it gets stopped likewise, and its energy subsides into the familiar molecular motion we call "heat"; so the substance becomes slightly warmed. Energy has been transmuted from the unknown internal atomic kind to the known thermal kind: it has been degraded from regular orbital astronomical motion of parts of an atom into the irregular quivering of molecules; and the form of energy which we call heat has therefore been generated, making its appearance, as usual, by the disappearance of some other form, but, in this particular instance, of a form previously unrecognized.

Hitherto a classification of the various forms of energy[1] has been complete when we enumerated rotation, translation, vibration, and strain, of matter in the form of planetary masses, ordinary masses, molecules, and atoms, and of the universal

[1] See the *Philosophical Magazine* for October, 1879.

omnipresent medium "ether," which is to "matter" as the ocean is to the shells and other conglomerates built out of its dissolved contents. But now we must add another category and take into consideration the parts or electrons of which the atoms of matter are themselves hypothetically composed.

The emission of the fragment is accompanied by a convulsion of the atom, minuter portions or electrons being pitched off too; and these, being so extraordinarily small, can proceed a long way through the interstices of ordinary obstacles, seeing, as it were, a clear passage every now and then even through an inch of solid lead, and constituting the β rays; while the atoms themselves are easily stopped even by paper. But the recoil of the main residue is accompanied by a kind of shiver or rearrangement of the particles, with a suddenness which results in an x-ray emission such as always accompanies anything in the nature of a shock or collision among minute charged bodies; and this true ethereal radiation is the third or γ ray of the whole process, and, like the heat-production, is a simple consequence of the main phenomenon, which is the break-up of the atom.

The emission over, and the fragment of the atom gone, the residue is no longer radium, but is something else. What it is we do not yet know; but since it is produced in isolated atoms here and there, with crowds of foreign substance between, there is no cohesion or any continuity between its particles; they are separated like the atoms of a gas, or like the molecules of a salt in a very dilute solution in which there are millions or billions of times as many atoms of the solvent as there are of the dissolved salt. So they are easily carried away by any motion of the medium in which they are mechanically embedded; but they retain their individuality, and their radioactive power persists, because the breaking-up process is by no means finished, stability is far from attained: indeed, the instability is more marked that it was in the original substance; for whereas in the original substance only one single atom here and there out of a million of millions was affected by it, here in the diffusing emanation or first product of incipient atomic dissociation every atom seems unstable or at least to be in a very critical condition. So that in a time to be

reckoned in minutes or days or months (according to the nature of the emanation, whether it be from thorium or radium, or uranium), a further breakdown has occurred in every atom; and so its accompaniment of radioactivity ceases. The radioactive power has disappeared from the emanation, but it has not wholly ceased: it has been transferred this time to a solid deposit which has been the residual outcome of the second break-up. For the atoms of this deposit also are unstable and break up, in a time which can be reckoned in months, days, or minutes, apparently in roughly inverse order to the duration of the parent emanation. Another and another substance has also been suspected, by Rutherford and Soddy, as the outcome of this third break-up; while gradually the radioactive power of the resulting emanations becomes imperceptible, and further investigation by present methods becomes impossible for lack of means of detection of sufficient delicacy.

Here, then, we appear to have, in embryo, a transmutation of the elements, the possibility of which has for so long been the guess and the desire of alchemists. Whether the progress of research will confirm this hypothesis, and whether any of the series of substances so produced are already familiarly known to us in ordinary chemistry, remains to be seen. It is not in the least likely that any one radioactive substance can furnish in its stages of collapse the whole series of elements; most likely one substance will give one series, and another substance will give another; and it may be that these emanations are new and unstable elements or compounds such as are not already known, or it may be that they approximate in properties to some of the known elements without any exact coincidence. The recognized elements which we know so well must clearly be comparatively stable and persistent forms, but it does not follow that they are infinitely stable and perpetual; the probability is that every now and then, whether by the shock of collision or otherwise, the rapidity of motion necessary for instability will be attained by some one atom, and then that particular atom will fling off the fragment and emit the rays of which we have spoken, and begin a series of evolutionary changes of which the details may have to be worked out separately for each chemical element.

If there be any truth in this speculation, matter is an evanescent and transient phenomenon, subject to gradual decay and decomposition by the action of its own internal forces and motions, somewhat as has been suspected and to some extent ascertained to be the case for energy. If it be asked, "How comes it, then, that matter is still in existence? Why has it not already all broken down, especially in these very radioactive and therefore presumably rapidly decadent forms of radium and the like?" the question naturally directs us to seek some mode of origin for atoms, to conjecture some falling together of their pristine material, some agglomeration of the separate electrons of which they are hypothetically composed, such as is a familiar idea when applied to the gravitational aggregates of astronomy which we call nebulæ and suns and planets.

We may also ask whether many other phenomena, known but not understood, are not now going to receive their explanation. The light of the glowworm and firefly and other forms of life is one thing which deserves study; the Brownian movements of microscopic particles is another. Are we witnessing in the Brownian movements any external evidence, exhibited by a small aggregate of an immense number of atoms, of the effects of internal rearrangement and emission of the parts of the atoms, going on from the free surface of the particle? And can it be that the light emitted by the glowworm—which is true light and not technical radioactivity, and yet which is accompanied by a trace of something which can penetrate black paper and affect a light-screened photographic plate—is emitted because the insect has learned how to control the breaking-down of atoms, so as to enable their internal energy in the act of transmutation to take the form of useful light instead of the useless form of an insignificant amount of heat or other kind of radiation effect; the faint residual penetrating emission being a secondary but elucidatory and instructive appendage to the main luminosity?

Many more questions may be asked; and if the conjectures now rife are to any great extent confirmed, it is clear that many important avenues for fruitful experimental inquiry will be opened up. Among them an easy and hopeful line of

investigation, lying in the path of persons favorably situated for physically examining the luminous emission of live animals, may perhaps usefully be here suggested.

And let me conclude by asking readers to give no ear to the absurd claim of paradoxers and others ignorant of the principles of physics, who, with misplaced ingenuity, will be sure to urge that the foundations of science are being uprooted and long-cherished laws shaken. Nothing of the kind is happening. The new information now being gained in so many laboratories is supplementary and stimulating, not really revolutionary, nor in the least perturbing to mathematical physicists, whatever it may be to chemists; for on the electric *theory* of matter it is the kind of thing that ought to occur. And one outstanding difficulty about this theory, often previously felt and expressed by Professor Larmor—that matter ought to be radioactive and unstable if the electric theory of its constitution were true—this theoretical difficulty is being removed in the most brilliant possible way.

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY

In the days of the early Greeks the word "element" was applied rather to denote a property of matter than one of its constituents. Thus, when a substance was said to contain fire, air, water, and earth (of which terms a childish game doubtless once played by all of us is a relic), it probably meant that they partook of the nature of the so-called elements. Inflammability showed the presence of concealed fire; the escape of "airs" when some substances are heated or when vegetable or animal matter is distilled no doubt led to the idea that those airs were imprisoned in the matters from which they escaped; hardness and permanence were ascribed to the presence of earth, while liquidity and fusibility were properties conveyed by the presence of concealed water. At a later date the "Spagyrics" added three "hypostatical principles" to the quadrilateral; these were "salt," "sulphur," and "mercury." The first conveyed solubility and fixedness in fire; the second, inflammability; and the third, the power which some substances manifest of producing a liquid, generally termed "phlegm," on

application of heat, or of themselves being converted into the liquid state by fusion.

It was Robert Boyle, in his "Skeptical Chymist," who first controverted these ancient and medieval notions, and who gave to the word "element" the meaning that it now possesses—the constituent of a compound. But in the middle of the seventeenth century chemistry had not advanced far enough to make his definition useful, for he was unable to suggest any particular substance as elementary.

The modern conception of the elements was much strengthened by Dalton's revival of the Greek hypothesis of the atomic constitution of matter, and the assigning to each atom a definite weight. This momentous step for the progress of chemistry was taken in 1803; the first account of the theory was given to the public, with Dalton's consent, in the third edition of Thomas Thomson's "System of Chemistry" in 1807; it was subsequently elaborated in the first volume of Dalton's own "System of Chemical Philosophy," published in 1808. The notion that compounds consisted of aggregations of atoms of elements united in definite or multiple proportions familiarized the world with the conception of elements as the bricks of which the universe is built. Yet the more daring spirits of that day were not without hope that the elements themselves might prove decomposable. Davy, indeed, went so far as to write in 1811: "It is the duty of the chemist to be bold in pursuit; he must recollect how contrary knowledge is to what appears to be experience. . . . To inquire whether the elements be capable of being composed and decomposed is a grand object of true philosophy." And Faraday, his great pupil and successor, at a later date, 1815, was not behind Davy in his aspirations when he wrote: "To decompose the metals, to re-form them, and to realize the once absurd notion of transformation—these are the problems now given to the chemist for solution."

Indeed, the ancient idea of the unitary nature of matter was in those days held to be highly probable. For attempts were soon made to demonstrate that the atomic weights were themselves multiples of that of one of the elements. At first the suggestion was that oxygen was the common basis; and later, when this supposition turned out to be untenable, the

claims of hydrogen were brought forward by Prout. The hypothesis was revived in 1842, when Liebig and Redtenbacher, and subsequently Dumas, carried out a revision of the atomic weights of some of the commoner elements, and showed that Berzelius was in error in attributing to carbon the atomic weight 12.25 instead of 12.00. Of recent years a great advance in the accuracy of the determinations of atomic weights has been made, chiefly owing to the work of Richards and his pupils, of Gray, and of Guye and his collaborators, and every year an international committee publishes a table in which the most probable numbers are given on the basis of the atomic weight of oxygen being taken as sixteen. In the table for 1911, of eighty-one elements, no fewer than forty-three have recorded atomic weights within one-tenth of a unit above or below an integral number. My mathematical colleague, Karl Pearson, assures me that the probability against such a condition being fortuitous is 20,000 millions to one.

The relation between the elements has, however, been approached from another point of view. After preliminary suggestions by Döbereiner, Dumas, and others, John Newlands in 1862 and the following years arranged the elements in the numerical order of their atomic weights, and published in *The Chemical News* of 1863 what he termed his law of octaves—that every eighth element, like the octave of a musical note, is in some measure a repetition of its forerunner. Thus, just as C on the third space is the octave of C below the line, so potassium, in 1863 the eighth known element numerically above sodium, repeats the characters of sodium, not only in its physical properties—color, softness, ductility, malleability, etc.—but also in the properties of its compounds, which, indeed, resemble each other very closely. The same fundamental notion was reproduced at a later date, and independently, by Lothar Meyer and Dmitri Mendeléeff; and to accentuate the recurrence of such similar elements in *periods*, the expression "the periodic system of arranging the elements" was applied to Newlands' arrangement in octaves. As every one knows, by help of this arrangement Mendeléeff predicted the existence of then unknown elements, under the names of eka-boron, eka-aluminum, and eka-silicon, since named *scandium*, *gallium*, and *germanium*, by

their discoverers, Cleve, Lecoq de Boisbaudran, and Winckler. It might have been supposed that our knowledge of the elements was practically complete; that perhaps a few more might be discovered to fill the outstanding gaps in the periodic table.

But we are confronted by an *embarras de richesse*. The discovery of radioactivity by Henri Becquerel, of radium by the Curies, and the theory of the disintegration of the radioactive elements, which we owe to Rutherford and Soddy, have indicated the existence of no fewer than twenty-six elements hitherto unknown. To what places in the periodic table can they be assigned?

Beginning with radium, its salts were first studied by Madame Curie; they closely resemble those of barium. The atomic weight, too, falls into its place; as determined by Madame Curie and by Thorpe, it is 89.5 units higher than that of barium; in short, there can be no doubt that radium fits the periodic table, with an atomic weight of about 226.5. It is an undoubted element.

But it is a very curious one. For it is *unstable*. Now, stability was believed to be the essential characteristic of an element. Radium, however, disintegrates—that is, changes into other bodies, and at a constant rate. If one gram of radium is kept for 1,760 years, only half a gram will be left at the end of that time; half of it will have given other products. What are they? We can answer that question. Rutherford and Soddy found that it gives a condensable gas, which they named "radium emanation"; and Soddy and I, in 1903, discovered that, in addition, it evolves helium, one of the inactive series of gases, like argon. Helium is an undoubted element, with a well-defined spectrum; it belongs to a well-defined series. And radium emanation, which was shown by Rutherford and Soddy to be incapable of chemical union, has been liquefied and solidified in the laboratory of University College, London; its spectrum has been measured, and its density determined. From the density the atomic weight can be calculated, and it corresponds with that of a congener of argon, the whole series being: helium, 4; neon, 20; argon, 40; krypton, 83; xenon, 130; unknown, about 178; and niton (the name proposed for the emanation to recall its connection with its congeners and its phosphorescent prop-

erties), about 222.4. The formation of niton from radium would therefore be represented by the equation: radium (226.4) = helium (4) + niton (222.4).

Niton, in its turn, disintegrates, or decomposes, and at a rate much more rapid than the rate of radium; half of it has changed in about four days. Its investigation, therefore, had to be carried out very rapidly, in order that its decomposition might not be appreciable while its properties were being determined. Its product of change was named by Rutherford "radium A," and it is undoubtedly deposited from niton as a metal, with simultaneous evolution of helium: the equation would therefore be:

niton (222.4) = helium (4) + radium A (218.4).

But it is impossible to investigate radium A chemically, for in three minutes it has half changed into another solid substance, radium B, again giving off helium. This change would be represented by the equation:

radium A (218.4) = helium (4) + radium B (214.4).

Radium B, again, can hardly be examined chemically, for in twenty-seven minutes it has half changed into radium C^1. In this case, however, no helium is evolved; only atoms of negative electricity, to which the name "electrons" has been given by Dr. Stoney, and these have minute weight which, although approximately ascertainable, at present has defied direct measurement. Radium C^1 has a half-life of 19.5 minutes, too short, again, for chemical investigation; but it changes into radium C^2, and in doing so each atom parts with a helium atom, hence the equation:

radium C^1 (214.4) = helium (4) + radium C^2 (210.4).

In 2.5 minutes radium C^2 is half gone, parting with electrons, forming radium D. Radium D gives the chemist a chance, for its half-life is no less than sixteen and a half years. Without parting with anything detectable, radium D passes into radium E, of which the half-life period is five days; and, lastly, radium E changes spontaneously into radium F, the substance to which Madame Curie gave the name "polonium," in allusion to her native country, Poland. Polonium, in its turn, is half changed

in 140 days, with loss of an atom of helium, into an unknown metal, supposed to be possibly lead. If that be the case, the equation would run:

polonium (210.4) = helium (4) + lead (206.4).

But the atomic weight of lead is 207.1, and not 206.4; however, it is possible that the atomic weight of radium is 227.1, and not 226.4.

Attention has repeatedly been drawn to the enormous amount of energy stored up in radium and its descendants. That, in its emanation, niton is such that if what it parts with as heat during its disintegration were available, it would be equal to three and a half million times the energy available by the explosion of an equal volume of detonating gas—a mixture of one volume of oxygen with two volumes of hydrogen. The major part of this energy comes, apparently, from the expulsion of particles (that is, of atoms of helium) with enormous velocity. It is easy to convey an idea of this magnitude in a form more realizable by giving it a somewhat mechanical turn. Suppose that the energy in a ton of radium could be utilized in thirty years, instead of being evolved at its variable slow rate of 1,760 years for half-disintegration, it would suffice to propel a ship of 15,000 tons, with engines of 15,000 horse-power, at the rate of 15 knots an hour for thirty years—practically the lifetime of the ship. To do this actually requires a million and a half tons of coal.

It is easily seen that the virtue of the energy of the radium consists in the small weight in which it is contained; in other words, the radium-energy is in an enormously concentrated form. I have attempted to apply the energy contained in niton to various purposes; it decomposes water, ammonia, hydrogen, chlorid, and carbon dioxid each into its constituents; further experiments on its action on salts of copper appeared to show that the metal copper was converted partially into lithium, a metal of the sodium column; and similar experiments of which there is not time to speak indicate that thorium, zirconium, titanium, and silicon are degraded into carbon; for solutions of compounds of these, mixed with niton, invariably generated carbon dioxid, while cerium, silver, mercury, and some other

metals gave none. One can imagine the very atoms themselves, exposed to bombardment by enormously quickly moving helium atoms, failing to withstand the impacts. Indeed, the argument *a priori* is a strong one; if we know for certain that radium and its descendants decompose spontaneously, evolving energy, why should not other more stable elements decompose when subjected to enormous strains?

This leads to the speculation whether, if elements are capable of disintegration, the world may not have at its disposal a hitherto unsuspected source of energy. If radium were to evolve its stored-up energy at the same rate that gun-cotton does, we should have an undreamed-of explosive; could we control the rate we should have a useful and potent source of energy, provided always that a sufficient supply of radium were forthcoming. If, however, the elements which we have been used to consider as permanent are capable of changing with evolution of energy, if some form of catalyzer could be discovered which would usefully increase their almost inconceivably slow rate of change, then it is not too much to say that the whole future of our race would be altered.

KISHINEFF, THE MEDIEVAL OUTBREAK AGAINST THE JEWS

A.D. 1903

PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL — KOROLENKO

The massacre of Kishineff was the most striking of a long series of tragic outbreaks against the Jews in Russia. The mass of the Russian people in their ignorance and their emotional excitability are still like the people of medieval Europe; and just as western Europe saw repeated hideous massacres of Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so Russia plunges into murder now. The rest of the world, having progressed beyond such barbarism, cries out in horror. President Roosevelt sent to the Russian government America's official protest against the Kishineff massacre—but Russia gives no heed. In 1881 the grim Russian autocracy took up the policy of "Russianizing" all the masses of many different nations who make up the subjects of their empire. They have since persisted in their blood-stained purpose.

As the Jewish race proved most resolute in resisting these efforts to drive them into adopting Russian customs and religion, they were singled out for persecution. The ignorant peasantry were easily roused to the hysterical frenzy of Jew-hating, and the outbreaks of this are still frequent and likely at any moment to produce massacres outrivaling Kishineff. A trustworthy authority tells us that during the single year closing with September, 1906, over one thousand Jews were slain in "pogroms," as these attacks on them are called. Many thousands more were wounded or crippled. Of course, all Russians are not a party to these terrible cruelties. The "Intelligencia," or thoughtful classes of Russia, have been outspoken in their protest. We give here a Jewish view of the outbreaks, written by one of the most noted of our American Jewish scholars, Professor Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University; and we then supplement this with a Russian view of the Kishineff affair, written from personal observation by the noted Russian novelist, Korolenko. No other attitude toward the vast and awful tragedy is possible, unless indeed it be the position seemingly taken by the Russian government, that "the Jew is to blame for all he suffers; because he disobeys US."

PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL [1]

THE history of the advance of Russia and the spread of the influence of the Slav is one of the most interesting stories of the great movement westward known as the "Folk-wandering"—interesting not only because it is being accomplished

[1] Reprinted by permission from *The Forum* magazine.

under our very eyes, but also because the circumstances under which it is working itself out are so different from those which pertained during the preceding waves of this great movement. In former times it was the great number, combined with the presence of a surpassing genius as military leader, that swept everything before it; and the disordered and unsettled state of Europe made combined action against the invasion impossible and left the road almost clear. The Slav invasion, however, found Europe with fixed and well-defined boundaries, and with strong national feelings permeating the countries against which it battered. The simple brutality of armed invasion was out of the question; and the Slav therefore trained himself to acquire by astuteness and diplomatic subterfuges what brute force could not obtain. He went to school in European culture and European diplomacy. He acquired sufficient of the one to enable him to take his place among the modern culture nations, and he outdid his masters in the other to such a degree as to throw them completely in the shade. To his own qualities of daring and doggedness he has added a finesse which makes him a master-hand in the game of chess which we call international politics. Nothing seems to bar his way, neither accepted formulas nor acknowledged understandings. He can find a road out of both; and his steady advance eastward on the one hand and southward on the other shows that he now looms up as the commanding figure in the world's history for the next one hundred years.

It is unfortunate that every great world movement has been connected with my people, the Jews; unfortunate, for whichever way events turned they were surely the ones to suffer. Carried upon the incoming wave, they have in every case been left high and dry when that wave has receded. Given their Oriental intense nature and their feeling that they were always on trial for their good behavior, they have naturally outdone those whom they wished to serve; and, trying to be all in all to every one, they have been everything to none. In spreading westward Russia absorbed a great part of the old kingdom of Poland, and thus received, into a mass that was already most heterogeneous, several millions of Jews. Had these Jews been allowed to disperse themselves naturally over the whole of the vast

dominions of the Czar, they would have in time practically disappeared and been lost to view in the many millions surrounding them. With a policy certainly short-sighted from the statesman's point of view, such a diffusion was made impossible; and by successive ukases and continued legislation they have been kept herded within the fifteen governments of White Russia and Poland, producing that "Pale of Settlement" on the western and southwestern frontier of the empire which can only be characterized by the adjective "awful." In addition to this, free movement even within the Pale has been consistently refused the Jews, and they have been further herded together in the larger and smaller towns.

One would imagine that such restrictions were sufficient to make life itself a burden for the Russian Jew; but he has had to bear more than this. After free residence and free movements within the Pale had been denied him, the free exercise of his talents and whatever opportunities life presented were also refused. One trade after another, one profession after another, was closed to him; and his cup of misery was filled to the brim when restrictions were placed upon his free use of the educational advantages offered by schools and universities. The notorious Ignatief May Laws of 1882 stand out as the most iniquitous piece of legislation ever enacted by a government that calls itself civilized, and only find their parallel in the recent Roumanian legislation concerning the Jews.

The southwestern corner of the Pale of Settlement is formed by the government of Bessarabia—a province that is really not Russian but Roumanian. It was acquired by Russia partly in 1818 and partly in 1878. Before this it had been a portion of the principality of Moldavia, and already toward the end of the fourteenth century contained a large Jewish population. From the very moment of its annexation to Russia, the persecution of its Jewish inhabitants commenced. Many of them were expelled, and, having lost their Roumanian citizenship by the annexation, found themselves pariahs on the face of the earth. A large number lived in places situated within fifty versts (thirty-three miles) of the frontier; and according to the Russian law of October 27, 1858, only such Jews were allowed to live within this distance of the frontier who had been settled there before

the law was passed or who owned land or houses. Such continued herding was bound to produce the Jewish question; which question could be solved only, from the Russian point of view, by a complete degradation, leading to emigration, or by a wholesale conversion to the orthodox faith. According to the latest census reports there are 167,827 Jews among the 1,385,743 inhabitants of the province. It must not be forgotten that a large portion of the population is still Roumanian. This is especially true of the landed gentry; and the anti-Jewish legislation and anti-Jewish campaign in Roumania were bound to affect the Jews across the Bessarabian border.

And yet all the accounts agree that the non-Jewish and Jewish population lived in equity and friendship side by side. These accounts are credible; for even in 1881 and 1882, when the whole southern portion of Russia was aflame against the Jews, no trouble occurred in Bessarabia. Whatever trades were open to them the Jews plied with diligence. According to reliable statistics there are 20,976 Jewish artizans in Bessarabia and 4,296 agriculturists. The condition of the Jews there was the same as in the other portions of the Pale, but no worse; and, though bad crops have from time to time caused famine and much suffering, no special trouble was expected in just this portion of the Russian Diaspora. It is, therefore, no wonder that when the reports of the massacres at Kishineff first came to the Western world they came as a bolt from the blue. Resignation is the attitude into which the Russian Jew has trained himself, and which is commonly preached to him from Western pulpits and lecture-platforms. Besides, the Jews had their hands full in their endeavor to ameliorate the condition of their Roumanian brethren; and the world had one eye upon Russia in Manchuria, and the other on the troubles brewing in the Balkan peninsula. But the 40,000 Jews who lived in Kishineff, and who form a goodly percentage of the population, generally said to be 110,000, were not at rest. An active anti-Jewish propaganda was being carried on in the city; and, knowing the temper not only of Russian mobs, but of mobs in general, they feared for their lives and their property.

They had every cause to fear. About five years ago, a newspaper called *Bessarabetz* had been established there by one

Krushewan. It was the only newspaper permitted to exist by the authorities. Since the second year of its publication, it has been violently anti-Jewish; rivaling the *Anti-Juif* of Paris, Algiers, and Brussels, and the *Staatsburger Zeitung* of Berlin. Its whole object seemed to be to sow strife and hatred between the Christian and the Jewish inhabitants of the city. Its word of parole was "Death to the Jews." "We will undertake another crusade against the Jews"; "It is time Russian life were freed from parasites"; "Jewish corpses shall be bound to cart-wheels"—these are only a few of the choice phrases used by Krushewan. No gag was put upon his mouth, no muzzle upon his pen, by the head of the local censor bureau, the Vice-Governor, Oustrugoff. It is in evidence that hand-written pamphlets were circulated in the cabarets openly proclaiming: "The Czar has given permission to attack the Jews on the first two days of the festival of the Passover." Nor was their circulation prohibited by the censor. He even went so far as to reassure the Jewish official representatives, who asked him for protection, that there was no danger. From across the Roumanian border, also, the poison was being instilled. In the month of March the *Vocea Tutovei*, of Berlad, published the most inflammatory articles in connection with the celebration at Eastertide. It is stated upon good authority that the subsequent riots were organized with deliberation, and that the places where the organizers met are well known.

The mine thus carefully laid needed but a spark to set it off. There is a little village on the Dneister, in the neighboring government of Kherson, called Dubossari, which before March 17th was unknown to history. Now, unfortunately, it is marked in the calendar of Jewish martyrdom. On that day the horribly mutilated body of a young Christian boy was discovered. It was said that he had been sent to make a purchase at a Jewish shop, and had then been found in that condition. All through Jewish history the Eastertide has been a season of fear and trembling. Though it may have brought tidings of peace and good will to other men, it has brought the lurid glare of blood to the Jews. Hardly a year passes without the charge of ritual murder being brought against the Jews at this time—a charge which Christian popes, bishops, emperors, kings, and professors,

with the most searching investigations, have often declared to be false. Two post-mortem examinations showed that in the Dubossari case there could be no thought of what, even by a stretch of the imagination, might be called a ritual murder. It was proved that the poor lad had been slain by members of his own family who were interested in his disappearance. But it was too dainty a morsel to be despised by the anti-Semites in Kishineff. It was used by the *Bessarabetz* in order still further to incite the popular fury against the Jews. An outbreak against them at Dubossari was easily prevented by a battalion of infantry sent from Benderi; but on March 31st an outbreak did occur at Tumanovo in the district of Tiraspol, fifty miles northwest of Odessa.

The train had, indeed, been well laid. It led directly to the office of the *Bessarabetz* in Kishineff. April 19th was the first day of the Passover celebration in the Russian Greek Church. It was a Sunday; all the shops were closed, and the people seem to have been idly collected in the streets of the city, especially in the Tcheuflin Square, near the merry-go-rounds and the drinking-booths. It is asserted that they were uneasy because they were idle; sufficient amusement not having been provided for them this year as at previous times. What a frolicking, mafficking time they did have before nightfall! There were Jews, also, among them who had come to see the fun. What diabolical, what Satanic fun they did have that day! They little thought what the next few hours would bring them. But the authorities had done much thinking in their stead; for on April 17th a large number of extra beds had been provided in the police barracks; and when the Kishineff rabbi, a few days previously, had applied to the bishop for help in quieting the excitement, he had received the answer that the bishop himself believed in the blood accusation. The ugly temper of the people seems to have been increased by the report, industriously spread, that the editor of the *Bessarabetz* had been threatened with arrest.

How the riot commenced will perhaps never be known. The flimsy excuse that it was caused by the Jewish proprietor of a merry-go-round, who had dealt harshly with a Christian woman whom he had tumbled out of one of the cars, will hardly be

accepted by the thoughtful, though it has the indorsement of the official report of M. de Plehve, Minister of the Interior. At about twelve, a certain movement was discerned among the populace in the Tcheuflin Square, and the Jews were seen fleeing from among the crowd, pursued by the cry, "Kill the Jews!" Various groups were quickly formed, which passed through the Alexandrowskaia Street to the New Bazaar, breaking window-panes, emptying shops, and raiding the whole part of the city near the railway station. Every Jew who dared show himself was assaulted, some being even dragged from the tram-cars and beaten to death. At the first onslaught the Jews were terror-stricken; but when they recovered sufficiently to endeavor to defend themselves, they were quickly disarmed by the populace. Cases are on record to show that the police directly encouraged the rioters. When the wilful inefficiency of those whose duty it was to preserve order was seen, attempts were made to telegraph the state of affairs to St. Petersburg, but permission was obstinately refused. The excesses continued all the afternoon, and quiet came only when darkness sheltered the Jews from view. The night passed quietly, and many fondly believed that the worst was over; the more so as there were strong detachments of cavalry, infantry, and police in the city, amounting to ten or twelve thousand in all—more than sufficient, as future events indeed showed, to quiet any riot in Kishineff. And still M. de Plehve is able to say in his official report that "It was not possible to repress the mob."

The morning of April 20th dawned, and the Jews were still hopeful that the riots were at an end. But at the very beginning of the day the excesses were continued in the New Bazaar, and in the Nicolaievskaia, Gastinaia, Kharlampiefskaia, and Puchkinskia streets. The mob this time was better prepared with bludgeons, hammers, and axes. The shops of the richer Jews were broken open; and though the police and soldiers patrolled the streets, they seem to have done nothing more than simply admonish the people to desist—as if admonishing could calm a mob drunken with the passion of loot. The synagogs in the Gostenaia Street and the Sinnaia Place had been plundered, and the sacred scrolls of the Law, tattered and torn, thrown into the street. The almost incredible report comes to us that the better

class of people not only complacently looked on at these orgies, but, either on foot or from carriages, observed them with interest, as though they were theatrical performances. One is quite loath to believe such stories as these; we must observe much caution in accepting reports sent in the flurry of great excitement. And yet, only in a few cases, which should be honorably mentioned, did the non-Jewish population use its efforts to calm the mob or to save the victims. A priest, Lashkoff, is said to have received and harbored a number of them in his home, and active sympathy was expressed by Mayor Schmidt and Lieutenant-Governor Krupensky.

It was late on Monday afternoon, about five o'clock, that the people commenced to aid the authorities in their efforts to disarm the mob. The authorities seem by this time to have been awakened to what was their manifest duty. No sooner had a troop of soldiers been seen coming down the Parshkinskia Street than reason appears to have entered the heads of the rioters, and to have controlled their turbulent spirits. As if by magic, quiet descended upon the stricken quarters; and the only further troubles that occurred took place in out-of-the-way parts of the city, where the grim fun was kept up by those who had come from neighboring places with the hope of sharing in the booty. By nightfall complete calm covered the city, and the pall of night in its great charity covered up the sins of the day. The end had come; the third and the following days were passed in peace and quiet. Stong patrols of the military paraded the streets, and it was very quickly known that they had received orders to repress any uprising with all the means in their power. It was hardly necessary to declare the city in a state of siege. The power of the Government is known and recognized in Russia, and the slightest touch of its strong hand compels obedience.

There was, indeed, a calm in the city, the calm of death and exhaustion. The streets must have presented the appearance of a battle-field, for débris and loot covered everything. The feathers from ripped bedding are said to have made the air thick. The *Nowosti*, a Christian newspaper of St. Petersburg, publishes the following words from an eye-witness:

"What I saw ten days after the outrages had taken place

exceeded what I had expected from the reports which had reached me. Kishineff has the appearance of a town sacked by the enemy—wrecked houses, people with heads swathed in bandages, with arms in splints and slings."

The same tale is told again by another Christian paper of St. Petersburg, the *Viedomosti*. The details that these papers give hardly bear repetition before the general public. Every crime from plunder to rape was committed. Bowels were slashed open, and nameless horrors of medieval barbarity were reenacted in this twentieth century. One hesitates to believe these stories; but they are vouched for by the witnesses cited above, as well as by private letters which have been shown to me and by others that have appeared in the public press.

When the books were closed on the eve of April 20th they showed 45 killed, 86 wounded severely, 500 wounded slightly, 15 streets of houses sacked, 10,000 Jews homeless and destitute, and 10,000 more on the verge of ruin. The *Bessarabetz* itself admitted, on April 22d, that there had been 38 victims, and that 62 had been wounded. The Red Cross Society of Kishineff, which was at once on the scene doing its noble work, can witness to the truth of these figures. At the time of this writing 12,000 persons are receiving the dole of two pounds of bread a day. Once again, as in the history of all such riots, the most innocent of the innocent have been the victims—the artizans, the small merchants, the employees. Among the slain were found the bodies of two Christians, showing that at least some of their fellow inhabitants had sufficient humanity left in them to come to the aid of the Jews. But what no official statistics, or unofficial ones, can give is the full tale of the havoc that has been wrought, of the degradation fixed upon so many, of the anguish of spirit, of the torture of mind. These are buried with the victims, or hidden in hearts that silently and sorrowfully bear their shame. Fear and trembling have seized the Jews in the northwest and southwest of Russia. They naturally dread uprisings in their own districts, and they tremble for the safety of themselves and their families. Panic seized upon the Jews of Kieff when the news of the massacres arrived. They were right to have fear; for, when the Jewish notables applied to the authorities for protection,

the Vice-Governor Stakelberg is reported to have said to them: "I will never allow the onslaught to go to the extent of that at Kishineff." Not to that extent—but how far?

These are the bald facts of the *pogrom* on April 19th and 20th at Kishineff. It is a dreadful thing to imagine that any one but an excited mob could be guilty of such excesses. Yet a mob never acts spontaneously. It must be prepared; it must be goaded on; it must be led. And upon those who have done this leader's work must the final blame lie. Heavy as the accusation may seem, and much as we should exercise the virtue of charity, a threefold blame attaches to Russia—to the anti-Semitic leaders, to the local authorities of Kishineff, and to the central Government in St. Petersburg. Enough has been said to show how the riots were artfully prepared many months, nay, even years, in advance. The local anti-Semitic press has been powerfully aided by the anti-Semitic *Znamya*, *Novoye Vremya*, and *Sviet* of St. Petersburg. One could quote article after article from their columns, which in coldest blood exasperated the populace to just such dramas as have been enacted in Bessarabia. What better proof do we need than the words of the *Znamya* in commenting upon the Kishineff disaster, which it declared to have been a "well-earned lesson"? Once again the blessing of press publicity has been turned into a curse.

The guilt of the local authorities of Kishineff, as second accessory to the crimes, is only too evident. Not only had the machinations of the *Bessarabetz* been allowed free exercise, but their dilatoriness in calling out the military stamps them as *participes criminis*. Some of the houses were pillaged continuously for eight to twelve hours. The authorities did nothing to prevent the storm from coming; they remained passive when it did come; and though a thousand persons were taken into custody for participation in the riots, they were brought before the examining magistrate Davidovitch, a noted anti-Semite and one of the leading writers on the *Bessarabetz*. No wonder that many were allowed to go scot-free upon the flimsiest excuses, though caught either red-handed or with stolen goods on their persons. In preventing the use of the telegraph for the purpose of communicating with St. Peters-

burg, the authorities directly contributed to prolong the suffering.

Graver still is the silent complicity in the happenings at Kishineff with which one is obliged to charge the central Russian Government at St. Petersburg. For years the anti-Semitic press in the capital has been allowed a free hand to disseminate at will whatever it cared to say against the Jews. This is no small matter if one remembers the strict censorship of the press in Russia. The all-powerful censor's bureau can, in the twinkling of an eye, stop the publication of anything of which it does not approve. The Jewish and pro-Jewish newspapers have, on the other hand, been subjected to every manner of annoyance. The *Pravo* (Right), edited by Prof. Wladimir Gosson and Nicholas Lazarewski, has been severely censured for defending the Jews; and a like fate has befallen the Jewish journal *Woschod* for publishing details of the massacres. The St. Petersburg Jews were even prohibited from holding commemoration services in memory of the victims.

It has been asserted that a confidential dispatch had been sent by M. de Plehve, Minister of the Interior, on March 25th, to the Governor of Bessarabia, the closing words of which were: "Your Excellency will not fail to contribute to the immediate stopping of disorders which may arise, by means of admonition, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms." If this were true, it would be the strongest indictment that could be brought against the Government. Happily, an official denial of the authenticity of this document has been published. Let us hope that the denial is true; although those who are acquainted with Russian procedure in such matters, and who remember the denial of that Power in the matter of the occupation of Manchuria, will not give it too much weight. When Ambassador McCormick asked permission to transmit relief funds collected for Kishineff in America, he received and transmitted to our State Department the official word of the Russian Government that "No distress exists in the district mentioned." At all events, no denial has been made to the circular of the same minister, issued on May 17th, in which the attempt is adroitly made to excuse whatever further troubles may arise and to lay them

at the door of the activity of the Jews in their self-defense. This circular closes with the words: "In informing your Excellency of the monarch's will (to suppress all disorders) I feel obliged to state for your guidance that no sort of associations for self-defense can be tolerated." Let those who blame the Jews for not defending themselves more vigorously ponder over these words, and let them remember that in Russia fear of the Government is even greater than fear of the mob.

It is true that, when the worst was over, the St. Petersburg authorities did step in. Despite the watchfulness of the Kishineff authorities, a Dr. I. S. Mutschink succeeded in sending a telegram to St. Petersburg; but it was not until Wednesday afternoon that the orders came for the rigorous suppression of the riots. The Government also sent M. Lopuchine, the Director of Police at the Ministry of the Interior, to open up an investigation. The value of such an investigation may be gaged by the fact that the Jews of Kishineff wished to make a statement to him, but were not permitted to do so. When he returned to St. Petersburg, he is reported to have said that "Krushewan (the editor of the *Bessarabetz*) is the only man in Russia who has not been bought by the Jews"—a sorry commentary on the venality of Russian officials, if there were a word of truth in what the statement implies. De Plehve also dismissed the Governor of Bessarabia, Lieutenant-Governor von Raaben, though the reactionary party at the capital strongly fought for his retention. In how far this was a disgrace remains doubtful, as he was given a place in the Ministry of the Interior. A similar fate overtook the chief of police; and the sale of the *Znamya* was forbidden. It is well to note these events; for every Jew will wish, if he can, to explain away the evidence in the case against the Russian Government. In receiving a deputation of Kishineff Jews, the Minister of the Interior refused to modify his original and one-sided *communiqué* on the disaster; but he promised to show in other ways the sympathy of the Government.

Even if he should decide to do so, what is to be the result? The plain fact is this, that life for the Jew in Russia, as well as for the Jew in Roumania, has passed beyond the enduring point. What country will open its doors for these refugees of

the world's hatred? If there is none, what will the Jews the world over do to provide a home for the oppressed of their people? The solution must come in one of these two ways. Has Israel preserved sufficient manliness and sufficient spiritual power to decide, and, having decided, to take a bold step forward? I still have faith in my people. Tried in the fire of misfortune, with their faith in God and in their own future deepened, they must find their way out of the wilderness into the land of a brighter promise. "Then shall Judah be saved and Israel dwell in safety."

KOROLENKO

I arrived at Kishineff two months after the massacres had taken place, when the echo of those horrors was still freshly thrilling and reverberating throughout the whole of Russia. The Kishineff police had taken the most drastic measures, but in spite of their zeal it was difficult to efface all traces of the deeds of blood. Even in the principal streets broken doors and windows were still to be seen; while in the outskirts of the town there were still more traces of the same sort. At St. Petersburg a Jew, Daschefsky, struck M. Krushewan with a knife; but, strange to say, another Jew came forward prepared to give first aid to the wounded man. Krushewan repelled this proffered aid with a movement of disgust, and wrote later that "Daschefsky's soul was forfeit to him." Together with M. Koumaroff he demanded that sentence of death should be passed on Daschefsky, for the specific reason that he, M. Krushewan, was not a private person, but a "man representing a principle of State." Two or three days after my arrival at Kishineff, three unknown young men attacked a Jewish youth returning from school, one of them stabbing him in the side with a dagger. The dagger was better aimed than was the knife of Daschefsky, and though the blow was weakened by the weapon coming in contact with a book, tightly buttoned up inside the boy's jacket, he did not escape unwounded. This Jewish youth, returning from school, could not of course be said to represent "a principle of State," and consequently neither Koumaroff, nor Krushewan, nor the editor of the local paper of Bessarabia took any notice of the

occurrence (at least, during my stay at Kishineff), though the Jews of the town discussed the matter with a sense of uneasiness which may well be understood. Among other things it was reported that the blow struck at the student was a reply to the outrage committed by Daschefsky. Foolish as this may seem, it may possibly be the truth. Anything may happen in the town of Kishineff, where the moral atmosphere is still surcharged with fiery animosity and hatred. The ordinary life of the town is at a standstill; building operations have stopped; the Jewish inhabitants are tense with fear, and with uncertainty about the morrow.

It was while things were in this condition that I arrived at Kishineff. Bent on attempting to find some explanation for the horrible and incomprehensible drama which had unrolled itself but a few weeks before, I wandered through the town, its suburbs, streets, and markets, interrogating both Jews and Christians on the subject of the recent events. I can not, of course, pretend to give any complete explanation, in the following short account of this terrible affair, of the incidents which resulted in the rapid, almost immediate, disappearance of the ordinary restraints of civilization, so that there unexpectedly burst forth something bordering on elemental bestiality. "There is nothing hidden that shall not be made known." It is quite possible that the hidden springs which put in motion this criminal attack will some day be disclosed, when the whole affair will be as plain as is the machinery of a clock that has been taken to pieces. But possibly there will even then remain circumstances difficult to explain in the light of certain known and attested facts. One of the problems that constantly obtrudes itself is, how an average, every-day and fairly decent man, with whom intercourse under ordinary circumstances is not unpleasant, can be suddenly transformed into a wild beast, forming part of a crowd of other wild beasts? Much time and work, and very wide and careful study, would be needed in order to present a picture of what took place in all its fulness of color. It is not possible for me to accomplish this; and perhaps the time for doing so has not yet come. I wish I could hope that the Court of Inquiry would do it, but I have cause to fear that they will not. . . . My desire is to

place before my readers some reflection of the feeling of horror which overcame me during my short stay at Kishineff two months after the massacres. In order to do this, I will endeavor to depict as calmly and as exactly as I can one single episode. It is the story of the house in Kishineff now become celebrated under the name of House No. 13.

House No. 13 is situated in the fourth district of Kishineff, in a by-street bearing the name of Asiasky, at its juncture with another by-street, Stavrisky; the names of these narrow and tortuous little streets are known but indifferently even to the inhabitants of Kishineff themselves. The Jewish cab-driver who drove us (many Jewish cab-drivers were among the killed and wounded) did not understand at first where we wanted to go. Thereupon my companion, who for the last three weeks had been breathing the air of Kishineff, and was able to find his way to all the principal places of interest connected with the massacres, explained to the driver, "House No. 13; where they killed!" "Ah! I know!" replied the driver, nodding his head and whipping up a horse as dejected, as miserable, and as half-starved as himself. I could not see the man's face, but I heard him mutter through his beard words that sounded like "Nisensen" and "the glazier." Nisensen and the glazier were a short time ago living men. Now they are but symbols, representing the concentrated horrors of recent massacres. We drove for some time, passing through the wide, well-populated, and comparatively civilized streets of the new town, to the narrow and tortuous, but most original back streets of old Kishineff, where stones, tiles, and bricks and mortar choke the growth of the young trees planted among the flag-stones; and where shadows of the stories of olden days, —stories of feudal lords and of Turkish invasions—still seem to hover. The houses here are very small, and stone walls hide the entrances to the courtyards; many of the windows, too, are as narrow as the old lancet windows of the Middle Ages. At last we found ourselves in the street where the house was situated for which we were searching; it was low, and roofed like all the houses in the town with tiles; it stood in a prominent position at the corner of a small square, into which it projected in the shape of an obtuse angle. It was sur-

rounded by similarly roofed houses, of smaller and more dejected appearance. These all showed signs of life. House No. 13 suggested nothing but death. It glared into the square with empty windows and broken, twisted window-frames. Its doorways had been hastily boarded up with broken fragments of wood.

One must do justice to the Kishineff police. Although they did little to stop the massacres, they have dealt ever since both energetically and promptly with the Jews in order to compel them to restore as quickly as possible their wrecked and ruined houses. But the owner of House No. 13 can no longer be called upon to obey police regulations! The courtyard still bears eloquent traces of the riots; it is covered with feathers and down from mattresses, fragments of furniture, bits of broken glass and crockery, and scraps of torn clothing. A mere glance suffices to call up a picture of unbridled destruction; the furniture lies in small splinters; the plates have been stamped under foot into a thousand pieces; the clothing has been ripped into shreds; here lies a torn sleeve, there a child's pinafore. The window-frames have been torn out, and from some of the black, gaping openings still hang fragments of the woodwork swaying in the air like crushed hands. In one corner of the court, near a shed at the entrance to one of the dwellings, can still be seen a huge crimson patch, easily recognizable as dried blood, mixed with bits of glass, mortar, bricks, and feathers.

"Grienschpoun was killed on this spot," said a strange, hollow voice from behind us. When we first entered the courtyard, death and emptiness seemed to be in sole possession; but now there stood by our side a girl of ten or twelve. We judged her age from her height and size, though on closer examination she appeared older. Her eyes had lost the glance of childhood. They had watched the deeds that but a short time ago took place here; and, henceforth, for her, this scene of destruction in the silent courtyard under the scorching rays of the sun was full of a never-to-be-forgotten dread. Many a time since those events had she lain down to rest, and rising again in the morning had fulfilled all her daily tasks; had thereby, perhaps, succeeded in "calming" herself; but

the unchildlike terror which had once contorted her childish face had not disappeared. It had left behind permanent traces, an awful expression in her eyes, and a nervous twitch of the whole face. Her voice was hollow, and her words painful to listen to; they were jerked out with an effort, like the tones of an automaton; and they dropped mechanically from her mouth so as to give the impression of a voice that has been extinguished.

"He ran past just here," she said, sighing heavily, and pointing with her hand toward the shed and the pool of blood.

"The glazier, did you say?" queried my companion.

"Yes . . . the glazier . . . he ran past here, and he fell down just there . . . and that's where they began to murder him. . . ."

With an involuntary shudder we turned aside from this pool where blood was mixed with mortar, rubbish, and feathers. Inside the house everything was destroyed as thoroughly as in the courtyard. The wall-papers were torn down, the doors broken from their hinges, the stoves smashed, and the partitions showed gaping holes. This extreme conscientiousness, shown in the midst of a scene of wild destruction, gave rise in the town to a story that before the massacres commenced a whole collection of crowbars and hooks was provided by some influential "anti-Semites" and a few of the less educated of the townspeople, for distribution among the rioters; and that these were collected afterward by "special agents." It is difficult to say what truth there may be in this report, but it sounds extremely plausible. Anyhow, it was almost impossible to believe that ordinary, every-day life had been carried on in the spot only a short time ago, where now nothing existed but the ruin we were examining.

House No. 13 consisted of seven separate dwellings, in which crowded, as is their custom, eight Jewish families (about forty-five persons in all, including children). The landlord was Moses Macklin, a commission agent and the owner of a modest shop in the town. On the whole of his transactions, including his rents, his shop, and his agencies, he earned about 1,500 rubles a year. Among the inhabitants of the house he was naturally looked upon as a rich and very

fortunate man. He did not live at No. 13, but one of the lodgings was inhabited by his daughter, with her husband and children. One of the most respected of the inhabitants was a small shopkeeper, Navtorili Serebrenik, whose shop was situated just at the corner of the house. It can still be recognized by the fragments of wooden boxes of which the counter was composed, lying about on the dirty floor between the wrecked walls. Besides these there lived in the house a draper's assistant, Berlatsky, with his wife and four children; he earned forty-five rubles a month; also Nisensen, a man of about forty-six, an accountant, who kept tradesmen's books in order and checked the accounts of neighbors; in this somewhat superior occupation he was paid by piece-work, and earned from twenty-five to thirty rubles a month. Gofsha Paskar served as a shop assistant and earned about thirty-five rubles a month; he had a wife, Ita, and two children. Isaac Gervitz was an attendant in a hospital, but latterly, having lost his situation, he had been out of employment and in trouble. Gofsha Turkenitsch had a carpenter's shop in which he employed three assistants; and Bassia Barbasch kept a meat-stall. Finally, the glazier, Grienschpoun, went off every morning with his load of glass and returned in the evening with his earnings. These details are gathered from the accounts of the sufferers and from their relations. They go to prove by what "wealthy" people No. 13 was inhabited. Further, these particulars, having been given in a claim for damages, may fairly be looked upon as overestimating rather than as concealing facts and conditions.

Thus lived quietly and peacefully these little households till the 6th of April in the present year. Nisensen went from shop to shop, making up the owners' books; Berlatsky and Gofsha Paskar sold things in other people's shops; Navtorili Serebrenik traded with his neighbors, the Jews, the Moldavians, and the Russians; carrying on a little commerce of candles, soap, matches, oil, cheap calico, and cheap sweets. Isaac Gervitz searched for work, and the glazier, Grienschpoun, replaced broken panes of glass. No one foresaw what was so shortly to happen. On the 6th of April, the first day of the greatest Christian festival, riots broke out in the town. The

news of what was going on spread, of course, to old Kishineff, and it is easy to understand that the Jews in the densely packed house No. 13 passed through some terribly anxious hours when they learned how things were going, and what was the attitude of the officials and of the Christian inhabitants toward the rioters. But the report ran that these excesses were due to the fact that the governor was awaiting some "order." In the course of the night the "order" must surely come, and all would be quiet before the morning. Toward evening the riots died down, and the night passed in dread, but without further outrages.

What happened the next morning the survivors of No. 13 and their neighbors tell in the following words:

About ten in the morning came a policeman (No. 148), a man well known in the neighborhood, who, evidently anxious about the possible fate of the Jews, strongly advised them to hide themselves in their houses, and not to go out into the streets. The Jews naturally followed this advice, and the already crowded houses were soon filled with their terrified coreligionists. They barred up their doors, gates, and shutters. Soon the square in front of Asia Street appeared as quiet as the dead, waiting in breathless suspense. I have good reason to believe that this picture of closed shutters, empty streets, and breathless dread of what was coming was characteristic of all the Kishineff suburbs during the second day of the riots.

Policeman No. 148 having issued his friendly order, seated himself on the curbstone. There was evidently nothing more to do. People say that he sat there all the time, as if posing as a model for some sculptor who might desire to represent an emblematic figure of "The Greatest Christian Festival," as understood in Kishineff. The whole tragedy in the Jewish hovels was played out with every horror of elemental savagery, within a few yards of this philosopher. The crowd arrived about eleven o'clock, accompanied by two patrols of soldiers, who unfortunately had "no orders," either. It consisted of about fifty or sixty persons, among whom it was easy to recognize some of the good neighbors bearing Moldavian names. It is said that they started at the wine-shop, the pro-

prietor of which was, however, treated leniently. The crowd said: "Give us thirty rubles, or we will kill you!" He produced the thirty rubles and saved his life by concealing himself as best he could, in order not to try the mercifulness of the savage rabble. The rioters set to work with the wholesale destruction of everything that came to hand, and in a few minutes the square was littered with fragments of glass and furniture and with down and feathers.

It soon became apparent, however, that the climax of horrors was to center round the house of Moses Macklin. It is difficult to give a reason for this. Had the rioters really some settled plan? Were they guided, as is believed by many in Kishineff, by some secret organization? Or were they simply led on by the fury that sometimes inspires a crowd, that blind and headlong instinct which rushes forward with absolutely elementary unconsciousness? These are questions which should, but probably will not, be settled at the forthcoming inquiry. Anyhow, at House No. 13 cries of murder and of death were soon ringing through the air to the accompaniment of falling stones, cracking walls, and breaking glass.

To the left of the gate, at the corner, where the ground is still stained with blood, there stand some low-roofed outhouses; in one of these the glazier Grienschpoun, his wife, two children, Ita Paskar and her two children, and a servant-girl had hidden themselves from the fury of the crowd. The door would not close on the inside, and the structure itself was no stronger than a cardboard box; its only advantage was that it contained nothing that could be broken or stolen. The Jews reckoned on having successfully hidden themselves out of the way. Defense was impossible; the house only contained eight men, all told. Policeman 148, not having received orders, was still sitting on the curb, and the two patrols of soldiers were stationed in the two by-streets above and below the doomed house. The crowd was already possessed by that inexplicable, elemental passion which causes fits of animality to burst forth from under the thin layer of Christian civilization. The riot was now at its height. Windows had gone, the frames were following, the stoves had been smashed and the furniture and crockery broken up. Pages of scripture and of the sacred

books lay scattered on the ground. Piles of feathers were to be seen in the courtyard and all around the house. Feathers and down flew about in the air and covered the trees like hoar-frost. In the midst of this mad inferno, in the din of destruction and wild laughter and savage roars and cries of terror, the thirst for blood awoke. The rioters at this point ceased to be men. Their first rush was for the shed; they found there but one man, the glazier Grienschpoun. A neighbor with a Moldavian name, whom Grienschpoun's widow subsequently described as an intimate acquaintance, was the first to stab the glazier in the neck. The unhappy man rushed out, but they seized him and dragged him on to the roof of the outhouse, where they finished him off with sticks and cudgels on the spot which is still stained with his blood. When the widow was asked if she really recognized the murderer, and had not mistaken him for a passing rioter, an Albanian from Turkey, or for some escaped prisoner, she replied with conviction: "I held him in my arms when he was an infant. God help us to live as well as we know each other well."

It was an intimate acquaintance, therefore, who struck the first blow in House No. 13. After this the situation developed rapidly. The first death-groan of the glazier showed clearly to the Jews, and possibly to the crowd also, what was to be expected later on. A Christian spectator described how "the Jews began to rush backward and forward like mice in a trap." He would be a merry man, indeed, who could discover a touch of humor in such an episode.

Some of the Jews made a rush for the garret. At the back of the shed where Grienschpoun was killed there is a black opening leading up to the garret. It is a narrow and stifling staircase. Berlatsky and his daughter ran up first, and were followed by the landlord, Macklin. Macklin, as has already been said, did not live in the house, but his daughter lived there; and feeling anxious about her, he ventured on to the scene of the tragedy. He did not find his daughter, as she had already left with her children. His task now was to save himself. The three reached the garret in safety. This clearly shows that not the whole of the crowd was carried away by the same blood-lust, otherwise the fugitives would never have been

allowed to gain the dark staircase, the opening to which was under the eyes of those in the courtyard. The three Jews, therefore, disappeared from view. Members of the crowd, who looked upon it as a pleasure, or perhaps as a duty, to plunder, but not to kill, allowed them to escape. But the murderers themselves were not long in following the fugitives into the garret. The garret at No. 13 is gloomy and dark, intersected with rafters, cross-beams, and the flues of chimneys. The luckless fugitives, after groping round for some time, realized that it was impossible to hide themselves effectively in this close and stifling attic. Hearing behind them the cries of their pursuers, they began, in desperation, to pull down the roof. Two gaping holes, with tiles scattered round, can still be seen, at the time of writing these lines, in the roof of House No. 13. Near one of these holes there lay, at the time of our visit, a blue enamel washing-basin. It must have been the very extremity of despair which drove them to tear open the roof with their bare hands, in that moment of mortal danger. But they succeeded. Their desire was to reach the roof itself at any cost. There they would see the sun, the surrounding houses, the crowd, the soldiers, and policeman 148 once more. It meant daylight, and . . . men.

So they tore their way through the roof. Moses Macklin was the first to get out; for he was (as described by the spectators) a small, lightly built man. Berlatsky had first to help his daughter, Chaia, and as he was attempting to follow her, one of his pursuers reached the garret, and seized him by the legs.

Then began, in full sight of the crowd, a desperate struggle. The daughter was attempting to drag her father up, and the pursuer was pulling him backward. The struggle was apparently unequal; and it was evident that Berlatsky had looked for the last time on the sun. But Chaia Berlatsky suddenly ceased her efforts, and leaning over the aperture implored the ruffian to let go of her father.

He yielded to her entreaties.

May some of this man's sins be forgiven, because for a brief moment, at the height of the orgy of unrestrained fury, he allowed a ray of human pity to enter his heart—pity for

the anguish of a Jewish daughter, entreating for the life of her father—a pity which penetrated through the gloom of the surrounding horrors into this darkened soul. He allowed the Jew to escape. One can not help wondering what became of him. Perhaps he left the scene of the riots with shame in his soul, beginning dimly to perceive and feel that God, according to the teachings of all religions, reveals himself in love and brotherhood, rather than in the destruction of the defenseless. Or possibly he hardened his heart after that momentary impulse and repented, not of the hour of bestial fury, but of the instant of human pity toward the outraged Jews, as had happened on more than one occasion.

Meanwhile the three victims were crouching on the roof. They glanced shudderingly around at the daylight, the square, the neighboring houses, the blue sky, the sun, policeman No. 148 seated on the curbstone, the patrols awaiting orders; and possibly also at the Russian priest who, alone and unarmed, impelled by his conscience as a Christian, attempted to appeal to the infuriated mob of rioters. This priest, it seems, was passing accidentally through the square; and the Jews, watching from neighboring houses what was going on at No. 13, implored his help. I regret that I do not know his name; he was evidently a good man, who could not believe that there existed in "sacred Russia," or anywhere else on earth, people who deserved killing like wild beasts for offenses common to all. Neither, presumably, did he believe that there existed men in Russia who would be allowed to kill defenseless Jews in broad daylight. An immediate and very natural feeling made him at first approach the crowd with a word of Christian persuasion. But the rabble threatened him, and he retreated. He was evidently an earnest Christian, but not a hero of Christian duty. Anyhow, we will hope that he did not regret his first impulse, and the attempt he made.

Whether it was at this exact moment that the episode took place, I can not say; but it is well known that the three victims crouched for some time on the roof of that house in the middle of the town, visible to hundreds of people, and absolutely defenseless. Then the murderers emerged from the same opening by which the victims had escaped. The Jews began

to run round the roof, which made the angle of the square; at one moment they would appear on the side of the courtyard, at another moment on that of the street. The rioters followed at their heels. The same neighbor who was the first to strike Grienschpoun was the first to wound Berlatsky. Another kept on throwing the enamel basin, which we saw on the roof weeks afterward, at the legs of the terrified victims. The basin struck the roof each time with a crash, and the mob probably laughed. Finally all three were tripped over the edge of the roof. Chaia fell on a pile of feathers in the courtyard, and escaped with her life. The wounded Macklin and Berlatsky lay writhing with broken limbs on the pavement, where the cowardly crowd of voluntary executioners finished them off with crowbars, amid the derisive laughter of the onlookers, who covered the bodies with feathers. Later on in the day casks of wine were broached and allowed to run to waste over the square, and the unfortunate victims were literally smothered in this mass of wine, mud, and feathers. Some assured us that Macklin lived for several hours.

Nisensen was the last to be killed; he and his wife had hidden in the cellar, but when he heard the cries of the murdered he realized that death and destruction were stalking through No. 13, and he ran out into the street. Once there, he was able to escape into the opposite courtyard, and might perhaps have saved himself; but the rioters were in hot pursuit of his wife; he followed her, and called after her to return with him. This drew the attention of the mob to himself; they left the wife and pursued the husband. He turned and made for No. 7 in Asia Street, but just before reaching it he was caught and killed. Two names are definitely mentioned in connection with this scene; one is a Moldavian name, and the other has a Polish termination. It had rained just before Easter week, and the puddles were full of water. Nisensen fell into one of these puddles, and the murderers rinsed the Jew in the mud, and then twisted and wrung him out, as one would rinse and wash out a dirty rag.

After this episode the mob, as if satiated with blood, fell back once more on its work of destruction and plunder, but left off killing. The Jews from the surrounding houses ap-

proached the unfortunate Nisensen and attempted to give him some assistance. He was still alive, and regained consciousness for a time, asking for water. His legs and arms had been broken in several places. They drew him out of the puddle, gave him water, and began to wipe the dirt from him. At this moment one of the rioters turned round and shouted out something to a companion. The Jews immediately disappeared. Nisensen remained alone. Then once more the same man who had first wounded Grienschpoun and Berlatsky stepped forward and struck Nisensen a blow on the head with a crowbar, which put an end to his sufferings.

The work of havoc proceeded. The square became almost blocked, so high was it piled with furniture, clothing, and window-frames. A Jewess told me that she wanted to get to the other side where her children were, but failed after two attempts. She held a baby in her arms. At last a Christian neighbor, known to her, took charge of her baby, so that she was enabled with difficulty to pick her way across this barricade of destruction.

At five o'clock on the same day the news spread that the "order," which from the first had been awaited with so much anxiety, had at last come. It took from an hour to an hour and a half to restore order in the town. No blood had to be shed, nor a rifle fired. A show of firmness was all that was necessary.

Years will have to go by before the terrible recollection of these doings and of the damning bloodstain on the "conscience of the Christians in Kishineff" can be at all effaced. There is a blot on the consciences not only of those who actually committed murder, but also of those who provoked to murder, by their base lies and their preaching of hatred to their fellow men; and also on the consciences of those who maintain that the fault lay not with the murderers, but with the murdered, that there exist such things as common irresponsibility, and that a whole nation may be treated as having no rights.

I fully realize how little I have given the reader in these hasty notes, but I wished to pick out this one episode from the involved and impersonal chaos known as a massacre; and to show, by one concrete instance, the general character, and some of the causes of what happened. With this object in

view, I have availed myself of the evidence of those who actually witnessed what took place, and who recounted their impressions personally, either to me or to my companion. It was he who helped me to reconstruct, bit by bit, the whole picture. It is true that all the witnesses are Jews, but there is no reason to doubt their word. This one fact can not be disputed, that in House No. 13 a mob murdered defenseless people—murdered them with every device that cruelty could suggest, in the center of a populated town, with as little interruption as if the horrible deeds were being enacted in a remote forest. The corpses remain as evidence. And after all, what does it matter to the surviving Jews exactly *how* their friends were killed? What object could they have in inventing details?

The moral is clear for any one in whom the ordinary feelings of humanity still dwell. But do any such exist? This important question comes involuntarily to my mind, after witnessing what I witnessed at Kishineff.

And yet. . . .

Overcome by the impression of these frightful details, I was busy with my disjointed notes, when I read in the paper of the death of the Kishineff lawyer, Pisargevsky. The name of this man was in every one's mouth during my stay in the town. Young, handsome, rich, frequenting the best society of Kishineff, he was ever seeking fresh distractions. Numbers of men told me that there was no doubt Pisargevsky took part personally in the riots and even led the mob. I was also told what powerful influence had been brought to bear, in order to prevent this crying scandal from becoming known, and to hide the direct share taken in the rioting by the "lion of Kishineff society." I wish I could believe that not all that was told me under this head was true. But even the points which are unquestioned would make a most important addition to the dreadful story of the Kishineff massacres. The efforts to suppress the truth were, however, futile. It was too apparent, and the newspapers soon reported that Pisargevsky was implicated in the late rioting. Until the moment of publication, however, he had continued his usual mode of life; paid visits, enjoyed himself, played cards. On the fatal night he

was lucky at cards, and, in consequence, seemed more than usually jovial. At daybreak he went out into the garden and wrote on a seat, "Here the lawyer Pisargevsky committed suicide," and then shot himself. The newspapers, commenting on the event, added that he had suffered from an hereditary tendency to dipsomania, that the prospect of the impending inquiry had disturbed him, and that he had had an unfortunate love-affair. Was that all? Anyhow, the price has now been paid. It seems to me, therefore, that I shall hardly be offending against the memory of this unhappy man if I presume that in the account which he settled on the garden bench there may have been other items not yet mentioned. Is it not possible that, in the dawn of the day on which he destroyed himself, there arose before him and confronted him the realization of what he, a man of education, had done toward influencing the passions of those who slew the Jews?

These are but suppositions, and are possibly much too optimistic. I heard an undoubted, though not an unexpected, truth from the mouth of a poor cabman of Kishineff, a Jew by origin. We were discussing with him the massacres and their after results, when he told me the story of a nursery gardener whom he drove a short time ago up to town. The gardener had come to town as usual to borrow money in order to pay the wages of his workmen in the summer. But the Jews, uncertain as to the way events were tending, refused the loan. The gardener was therefore compelled to apply to Christian instead of to Jewish usurers; and "these gentlemen," our cabman remarked, "will take three of your skins where a Jew will take one." That this question of usury was one of the motives of the massacre is quite clear to anybody who begins to make inquiries in Kishineff. Among those who evidently sympathized with the rioters, and encouraged the crowd in their blind prejudice, race-hatred, and savage lust for plunder and murder, the citizens point to a well-known Gentile usurer who realized that his chance had at last come.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

A NEW METHOD OF ARBITRATION

A.D. 1903

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER F. C. WADE, K.C.
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An event which President Roosevelt called "the greatest diplomatic victory of the United States in the present generation" is not to be lightly passed over. To most eyes, however, the true greatness of the treaty which settled the dispute between the United States and Canada is not to be found in the amount of territory gained or lost, but in the fact that an evenly divided tribunal succeeded in settling the issue at all, that a new and practical mode of arbitration was introduced into diplomacy, and that England made a long stride toward winning the confidence and friendship of the United States. The story of this tribunal is here told by one of the chief agents to take part in its work. Hon. John W. Foster, LL.D., former Secretary of State of the United States, was the chief counsel for her cause, and delivered this account of the controversy and its settlement as a lecture before the students of Columbian University. As the decision of the tribunal caused bitter heart-burnings in Canada, we give also an abridgment of the attack upon it published by one of the Canadian counsel before the tribunal. Then, lest our readers should think that all Canadians felt as hostile toward the decision as did Mr. Wade, we give the calmer view of Canada's most noted sage and historian, Prof. Goldwin Smith.

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER

THE tribunal which was recently in session in London and which adjusted the irritating and dangerous controversy respecting the Alaskan boundary was a unique body. It was not an arbitration tribunal in the usual acceptation of that term, as there was no umpire or neutral judge. Its membership was composed of three persons nominated by each government, and as a decision to be effective required the concurrence of a majority of the court, it was necessary for the settlement of the controversy that at least one member should decide against the contention of his own Government.

It was insisted by the opponents of the measure that it would prove a useless proceeding, as a majority decision could not be obtained. Its friends, however, felt that the question was of such a character as to offer a solution by sober-minded judges, before whom the facts should be presented in a judicial manner; and, even if unhappily, there should be a failure to secure an effective decision, the effort would not be in vain, as the evidence upon which each party relied in support of its contention would be accessible to the public, and it would be enabled to make an intelligent study of the controversy.

From the very beginning of our independence as a nation the boundary line dividing the United States and Canada has been the source of almost constant discussion, often of angry controversy, and more than once has brought the countries to the brink of war. As in the Alaskan question, these disagreements have arisen mainly from a want of correct geographic knowledge on the part of the negotiators of the treaties. For instance, in the treaty of peace and independence of 1783, in which an attempt was made, as stated, to set forth the boundary with such accuracy that all disputes which might arise in the future would be prevented, the initial point on the east was fixed at the mouth of the St. Croix River, in the Bay of Fundy. But when it was sought to establish the boundary line, it was found that there was no river in that locality popularly known as the St. Croix, but that there were two considerable rivers emptying into the Bay of Fundy, both of which had other names than that mentioned in the treaty. This question was settled amicably by the unanimous action of a commission.

It was, however, followed by a controversy as to the ownership of the islands in and near Passamaquoddy Bay. After years of diplomatic discussion, it was referred to a commission of one American and one Englishman, and they reached a settlement without the intervention of an umpire.

The commission established the line to the head of the St. Croix River, but the boundary from the St. Croix along the Maine-York frontier to the St. Lawrence proved to be the most irritating, difficult, and tedious of the disputes between the United States and Great Britain. It was first referred to commissioners, who failed to agree, and after much diplomatic

wrangling was submitted to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands, the validity of whose decision was questioned, and it was thrown back into diplomacy. New surveys were made and a temporary boundary established, but it was not observed by the people in the vicinity. Strife occurred; a state of border warfare was created; Congress authorized the President to call out the militia, and voted $10,000,000 for public defense. An open conflict between the two nations seemed imminent. The commander-in-chief of the army, General Scott, was dispatched to the frontier, and through his interposition a temporary border truce was arranged. After still further delays, in 1842 the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, and a special plenipotentiary from Great Britain, Lord Ashburton, agreed upon a treaty fixing accurately that boundary. It is an interesting fact that the essential points of that dispute were similar to those as to the Alaskan boundary. The "highlands" and the "ocean" became the words about which the northeastern controversy raged. Likewise the late subject of discussion at London was in great measure that respecting the phrase in the treaty, "the summit of the mountains," and the words "ocean" and "coast."

The line through the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was adjusted by a commission after careful surveys, by which various islands which had been claimed and occupied by the Canadians were transferred to the American side of the line, and others claimed by the Americans were placed on the Canadian side.

The fixation of the boundary from Lake Superior to the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods was entrusted to a commission, but after five years of labor, during which they visited the region and expended $200,000 in surveys, they failed to agree. Under the stipulations between the two Governments, the question should then have been referred to arbitration; but the experience in the arbitration of the Maine boundary did not encourage such a course. After long delays this portion of the frontier was adjusted by the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, but this settlement has not proved completely satisfactory, owing to defective landmarks, as it is charged by Canadians that the United States Land Office

has surveyed, platted, and sold to Americans a considerable extent of land in the Minnesota-Wisconsin section, which really belongs to Canada.

The line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was fixed by the treaty of 1818 to run along the 49th degree of north latitude.

The boundary from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean remained for forty years a subject of controversy. It engaged the attention of successive administrations up to the presidency of Mr. Polk, various treaties and arbitral propositions being advanced only to be rejected by one or the other of the two nations. The claim to the whole territory on the Pacific Ocean from California to the Russian possessions at 54° 40′ was asserted by the Democratic National Convention of 1844, and, under the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," entered largely into the campaign which resulted in the election of Mr. Polk. In his first message to Congress he declared our title to this region to be "clear and unquestionable," and he recommended Congress to extend jurisdiction over it. John Quincy Adams, who was recognized as the highest living American authority on international questions, held with President Polk that our title up to 54° 40′ was complete and perfect.

The controversy grew so animated that the chances of war were freely discussed; but the two nations found a better way of reconciling their differences, and, after anxious deliberation, Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, and the British Minister signed a convention in 1846 whereby the line of the 49th parallel was extended from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. By this act the vast domain now embraced in British Columbia was yielded to Great Britain, although our title to it had been declared unquestionable by a national convention, by the President in his message, by Congress through joint resolution, and by our highest authorities on international law.

One more step was necessary before our chain of title to a fixed and unquestioned line from the Atlantic to Pacific should be complete. The treaty of 1846 provided that the water-line of the boundary should follow the middle of the

channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island. In this body of water lie a number of islands, and it was not clear which was "the middle of the channel" among these islands. In this state of uncertainty the islands were being populated by both Americans and Canadians, and conflicts of authority arose. Efforts were made to reach an agreement through diplomacy, but they failed. In 1856 a joint commission was appointed, but the members, after visiting the region in dispute, were unable to agree. The subject went back into diplomacy, and more than ten years were spent in fruitless discussion. In 1859 the settlers on San Juan Island came into conflict, the troops of the two countries became involved, and a collision seemed imminent. A second time the services of General Scott were invoked, and he arranged for a joint and peaceful occupation by troops of the two nations, but with difficulty were they able to prevent conflicts of the civil authorities. Finally, when the Joint High Commission to arrange the Alabama claims and other matters met in Washington in 1871, the question of the true channel was submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany, and he rendered an award in favor of the contention of the United States.

The foregoing shows, first, what a perennial source of trouble have been our boundary disputes with Canada, and what a threatening peril to our peace it is to leave them unsettled. It is seen that every step of the frontier line, from the initial point on the Atlantic to the last water channel on the Pacific, has been a matter of controversy, and sometimes of such bitter contention as even to threaten war. Secondly, our public men and the Government have not found a strong title to territory a bar to the submission of boundary questions to the adjudication of a commission or an arbitrator. In repeated instances have we given up territory which has been in possession of our citizens for years. Thirdly, while our northern boundary has been adjusted by means of treaties, commissions, and arbitration, the Alaskan Tribunal was the first instance in which an equal number of jurists from each Government have sat as a court, observing the forms of judicial proceedings, and rendering a decision binding upon the parties litigant. The result of its labors certainly confirms the wisdom of the

President and Secretary of State in devising this method of adjustment of a most embarrassing controversy.

As there seems to exist in the public mind a vague and ill-defined idea of the questions at issue between the two Governments which were submitted to the Tribunal for adjudication, it may be well to make as brief a statement as may be of these questions. They depended entirely for their solution upon the construction and application of the stipulations of the treaty entered into in 1825 between Great Britain and Russia. This treaty defined the rights of the two parties, first, in the North Pacific Ocean; and, secondly, on the northwest coast of North America. In order to fix the latter accurately, a boundary line was agreed upon dividing the possessions of Russia from those conceded to Great Britain, and this boundary consisted of a water line and one upon the mainland.

The rights of the parties continued to be governed by this treaty up to 1867, when Russia ceded and transferred all her territorial possessions in America to the United States, and in doing so she inserted in the treaty of cession to the United States the exact text of the treaty with Great Britain of 1825 relating to the boundary. Hence, in order to determine the territorial rights of Alaska and Canada, recourse must necessarily be had to the Russo-British treaty.

In the official and public discussion which preceded the treaty of January 24, 1903, creating the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, and in the documents submitted by the two Governments to that body, as also in the oral argument before it, much was said about the historical facts and negotiations preceding and attending the signing of the treaty of 1825, and the acts of the Governments and their officials since that event, such as the publication of maps and charts, occupation of the territory in dispute, and the admissions or statements of officials. But it was conceded on both sides that all these matters had no other influence on the questions at issue than to aid in the interpretation of the stipulations of the treaty.

The negotiators of the treaty of 1825, in setting forth the boundary line, were governed by the geographical knowledge within their reach at that day. As early as the sixteenth century explorers had visited the northwest coast of America,

but up to the last decade of the eighteenth century very little accurate knowledge of that region existed. Between 1792 and 1794 Captain Vancouver, of the British Navy, visited this coast, sent out by his Government to discover the supposed passage or water connection between the North Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. He made very careful surveys of the coasts of the continents and islands, and his narrative and charts, giving detailed results of his surveys, were published in 1798. These were the main sources of information upon which the negotiators sought to fix in the treaty of 1825 the boundary line between the Russian and British possessions.

They described the water line as follows: "Starting from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, . . . the said line shall ascend northward along the passage called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the mainland, where it reaches the 56th degree of north latitude." The first matter which the Tribunal had to determine was, what is the Portland Channel as described in the treaty, and to draw the line in accordance therewith from the southern point of Prince of Wales Island to the 56th degree of north latitude.

An examination of the maps will show that the body of water variously described as Portland Channel or Canal is composed in part of two inlets from the ocean, one a broad and easily navigable channel to the south, and to the north a narrow, somewhat tortuous, and unsafe passage. Between these passages lie a group or series of islands. The American contention was that the broad or southern passage was the Portland Channel of the treaty. The British claim was that the narrow or northern passage was the one intended by the negotiators. Vancouver's charts and later maps favored the American view, but his Narrative seemed to support the British case. The Tribunal decided against the American contention, but did not accept in full the British claim, as the two larger islands only were made British territory, and the two smaller islands involved in the controversy were awarded to the United States. This part of the decision has occasioned the most bitter criticism and is the chief matter of complaint in Canada. This feeling is in part explained by the fact that

Port Simpson, situated on the southern side of the entrance to Portland Canal, has been fixed upon as the Pacific terminus of the newly projected transcontinental railway, and it was urged that, for strategic purposes, all the islands on the north or opposite sides should belong to Canada.

The other work of the Tribunal was to determine the mainland boundary line. The treaty provided that from the head of Portland Channel, the line should be drawn to the 56th degree, and "from this latter point the line of demarcation shall follow the crest of the mountains situated parallel to the coast. . . . That whenever the crest of the mountains which stretch in a direction parallel to the coast from the 56th degree of north latitude . . . may lie at a distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the boundary between the British possessions and the coast strip (*lisière*) mentioned above as having to belong to Russia shall be formed by a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, and which can in no case be more distant therefrom than ten leagues."

Vancouver saw as he sailed up and down the northwest coast of America, as likewise modern tourists, all along the Alaskan mainland a constant series of mountains. He made no explorations in the interior of the continent; but in drawing his charts he depicted a regular and continuous chain of mountains from the head of Portland Canal up to Mt. St. Elias, running around the heads of all the inlets and arms of the sea. The map-makers who succeeded Vancouver adopted with more or less accuracy this feature of his charts. It was this topographical indication which the negotiators had in view when they drafted the text of the treaty just quoted. They regarded this supposed mountain chain as a natural and proper boundary.

But later explorations have shown that the mountain chain depicted by Vancouver and other cartographers of the period preceding the treaty had no existence in fact, but that the mainland, extending back for ten leagues and more from the coast, is what has been termed "a sea of mountains," with no dominant and well-defined chain. The American claim, therefore, was that the natural boundary contemplated by the treaty having no existence in fact, the ten marine league lines

mentioned therein should apply, and that the United States boundary should follow the sinuosities of the coast and always ten marine leagues therefrom, passing around all the inlets of the sea.

On the other hand, the British contention was that the crests of the mountains nearest to the sea should be taken as the boundary line. The Canadian experts claimed to have established a series of peaks or mountain chains sufficiently parallel to the coast to meet the requirements of the treaty. In conformity with this theory a boundary line delineated on the map was put forward, which rarely diverged more than five miles from the sea, and often was less than a mile therefrom, which cut across the heads of all the inlets, divided the "coast strip" or *lisière* of the treaty into sixteen disconnected sections of territory, and transferred to Canada towns, settlements, industrial establishments, and mines which had been in undisputed possession of Americans for many years.

The Tribunal decided that, under the treaty, the United States was entitled to a continuous strip of territory which extended around the heads of all the inlets, thus excluding all contact of British territory with the sea from Portland Canal north to Mt. St. Elias. It also fixed the eastern or interior boundary line at designated mountain peaks to conform to this decision. While this interior line did not extend ten leagues from the ocean (the distance put forward in the case of the United States), it was a substantial acceptance of the most material claim of this country, and the result has been so regarded on both sides.

Much time was consumed and learned argument applied to the meaning of the terms of the treaty, "the crest of the mountains," the "ocean," "the coast," "sinuosities of the coast," etc., which can not be followed in the time at my command, but the foregoing is, I trust, a sufficient exposition to enable those not already informed to understand the two principal points at issue and how they were settled.

I turn now to a consideration of the composition, the preliminary work, and the proceedings of the Tribunal. It has already been stated that it was made up of three members appointed by each Government. The treaty creating the Tri-

bunal required that its members should be "impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the Tribunal and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment."

The President nominated on his part Elihu Root, of New York, Secretary of War; Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator of the United States from Massachusetts, and George Turner, late Senator of the United States from the State of Washington. Since the dissolution of the Tribunal it has been disclosed that the Canadian Government complained to the British Colonial Office that the members nominated by the President of the United States were not such persons as were contemplated by the treaty, to wit, "impartial jurists of repute"; but it does not appear that the British Government regarded this complaint of such a serious character as to bring it to the attention of the President. It was alleged that one of the American members had expressed himself publicly, some time previous to his appointment, as strongly convinced of the justice of the claim of his Government. It was also objected that no one of the three was taken from judicial life, and that they all might be considered as political, rather than legal, representatives of their country.

Whatever appropriateness there may have been in the objections urged by Canada, the sequel showed that the selection of the President was entirely fitting. It would be difficult to name three men in the United States with greater experience in and knowledge of public affairs, with better trained minds for the work they had to do, and who possessed in a greater degree the confidence of their countrymen. It will doubtless be gratifying to you to state that they acquitted themselves in their delicate positions with entire credit to their country, without a word of criticism of their conduct, so far as I am aware, in either official or social circles of the British capital, and, without indulging in invidious comparisons, it may be said that they displayed a judicial temperament at least equal to their Canadian colleagues, and were as susceptible to the arguments of opposing counsel. On one of the

points strongly contended for by the United States, that of Portland Channel, they decided against their own Government, an example which seems to have had no effect on their Canadian associates.

Even in the United States some press criticism has been passed upon the action of the President in this matter, and it has been asserted that he should have named judges of the United States Supreme Court or other high judicatory for the positions. It is due to the President to state that he offered the appointment to one of the justices of the Supreme Court, and that the latter declined, as it is understood, on the ground that he did not regard the post as in the proper line of his duties, and that it was not just to his associates to accept a position which would impose additional labor upon them. A second justice was then approached with a like result. There seems to be a growing sentiment in this country that the members of our highest court should not be called upon to discharge functions of a semipolitical character, such as those relating to boundary disputes, nor that they should be burdened with additional duties when their labors are already sufficiently onerous. A similar view has been expressed by some of the British press, since the decision of the Tribunal, to the effect that the Lord Chief Justice of England should not have been placed in the embarrassing position of having to pass judgment against his country upon a question so greatly political, and which has consequently exposed him to bitter criticism.

The British Government named as members of the Tribunal Baron Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir Louis A. Jetté, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and John D. Armour, Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. Judge Armour died soon after his appointment, and the vacancy was filled by A. B. Aylesworth, Esq., a prominent member of the bar of Toronto.

The duty of the Tribunal was prescribed to be to render a decision which was to be made up of answers to seven questions specifically set forth in the treaty. Experience has shown that the work of courts of arbitration and international commissions is not infrequently nullified or impaired by their

members exceeding their powers in rendering their decision, or by departure from the terms of reference. All error in that direction was avoided in this instance by the careful manner in which the points at issue were set forth in the treaty.

The Case of each of the two parties was required to be prepared and delivered to the opposite party within two months from the date of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty, which occurred March 3, 1903. This was a short time in which to do such an important work; but, as the matter had already been the subject of much discussion and research, it was practicable to accomplish it in the period fixed. The Case for each Government consisted of a statement of its views and contentions on the seven questions submitted to the Tribunal, accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence, and all other evidence in writing or in print upon which it relied. The Case of the United States, with the appendices, constituted a quarto volume of about 650 pages and an atlas of maps, and the British Case was of approximately the same length and character.

After receipt by each Government of the Case of the other, a Counter-case in reply thereto was to be prepared and delivered within a like period of two months. Upon receipt of the American Case the British agent asked for an extension of two months, stating that it would be impossible to prepare a Counter-case for Great Britain within the period fixed by the treaty. Our Government declined to agree to this extension of time on the ground that the reasons contemplated by the treaty had not been alleged and did not exist. The Counter-cases were accordingly exchanged within the period fixed therefor.

The third step in the preliminary proceedings was the preparation by counsel of a printed Argument, based upon the Case and Counter-case, and this also was to be prepared and delivered within two months after receipt of the Counter-case. This delivery was effected on September 2, and on the 3d of that month the Tribunal held its first meeting in London.

A noticeable feature of the London Tribunal was the marked contrast in the manner of argument or delivery be-

tween the British and American lawyers. The former were very deliberate in speech, rarely raising the voice, accentuating words, or using gestures; they sought to impress the court by their careful presentation of the facts and the cogency of their reasoning. This method was doubtless very effective, but when it extended in the person of one advocate through six or seven days it became somewhat tedious. On the other hand, the American counsel were vigorous in speech, frequent in emphasis, and somewhat active in gesture. They did not hesitate to indulge in a witticism to impress a point, and sometimes even ventured upon an amusing anecdote to illustrate their argument, which seemed to be welcomed by the court and enjoyed by the opposing counsel.

It is gratifying to note that during the entire sessions of the Tribunal the utmost good feeling and courtesy prevailed, not a single untoward incident occurring to mar the harmony of the proceedings.

The oral argument was closed on October 8, after which the Tribunal went into secret session. On October 20 its decision was delivered to the two agents representing their respective Governments. As the treaty which provided for the adjudication and created the Tribunal did not go into effect till March 3, 1903, the entire proceedings occupied less than eight months, which constitutes an instance of promptness in international adjudication of magnitude and gravity almost without parallel.

As I have already given the substantial results of the decision, it is hardly necessary to repeat or elaborate them. The engrossed decision or award in duplicate was signed by Lord Alverstone and the three American members. The decision was accompanied by a series of five maps indicating thereon the boundary as set forth in the decision. These maps were attested by the signature of all the six members of the Tribunal.

The two Canadian members have been criticized, too severely, I think, for their action in refusing to sign the decision. They might find their defense in the language of the treaty itself, which says: "The decision . . . shall be signed by the members of the Tribunal assenting to the same." They also

might cite distinguished precedents for their conduct. The Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander Cockburn, who represented Great Britain on the arbitration tribunal at Geneva which adjusted the Alabama claims, not only refused to sign the award, but accompanied it with a vigorous protest and rather unseemly conduct. A similar precedent is to be found in the Halifax fisheries arbitration of 1877, when the American member not only refused to sign the award, but questioned its validity. A better practise was observed in the Fur Seal arbitration at Paris in 1893. The two American members, Justice Harlan and Senator Morgan, were outvoted on almost every one of the six points submitted to the Tribunal; but, without withdrawing their votes, they cheerfully united with their colleagues in signing the award.

The two Canadian members of the London Tribunal did, however, incur more deserved criticism in their action in giving to the press, on the same day the decision was announced, a carefully prepared interview, in which they declared that the decision was not judicial in its character, the plain inference from which was that the majority members of the court had been influenced by improper motives, as the treaty required that they should determine "judicially" the questions submitted to them. They further gave it to be understood that their British colleague, after agreeing with them in their position as to Portland Channel, changed his attitude and voted with the American members; and they added that there is "no process of reasoning whereby the line thus decided upon by the Tribunal can be justified." It is hardly necessary for me to accentuate the impropriety of judges arraigning in the public press their colleagues on the bench for improper motives and inconsistent conduct. Lord Alverstone has said, referring to this matter, that he declined to justify or explain his conduct, because such a course would be a death-blow to the confidence reposed in the British bench. He needs no vindication. No living man has had greater experience in international adjudications, and no one has done more to preserve peace and good will between the two English-speaking nations.

In view of the substantial failure to sustain the British contention as to the boundary, it is not strange that there have been angry criticism and bitter disappointment expressed in Canada. Similar feelings were manifested in England over the Geneva award. The people of the United States were very angry at the Halifax award, and were by no means pleased with the result of the Fur Seal arbitration at Paris; but the sober second thought of these Anglo-Saxon peoples has been that, however disappointing the outcome, this process of adjusting international disputes is better than to continue the controversies, and infinitely better than a resort to war. The British agent, Hon. Clifford Sifton, immediately after the announcement of the decision in London, said publicly in the most kindly spirit: "I have to say that the agent and counsel of the United States have acted with perfect courtesy and good faith throughout." And since his return to Ottawa and the resumption of his place in the Dominion cabinet, he has announced that the decision will be accepted and carried into effect in good faith.

President Roosevelt has been credited by the public press with the statement that the result at London was "the greatest diplomatic victory of the United States during the present generation." It is not becoming in one who was a participant in the proceedings so characterized to discuss this declaration. I may say, however, without impropriety that the greatest value of the decision is not in the detailed terms of the award, but in the fact that it brought to a conclusion an irritating controversy, that it removed a serious obstacle to better relations between these two neighboring countries.

The chief credit on the American side for this result is due to the President and the Secretary of State, who had the courage, in spite of the prevailing sentiment that it would be a useless proceeding and against many protests, to submit the question to a judicial tribunal. Still greater credit is due the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who, in the face of stronger opposition, consented to such a reference. While the outcome is not such as he desired, it must be a relief to him to know that this dangerous subject has been removed from the arena of controversy, and I feel sure that in time his people

will recognize that he acted wisely and for the best interests of his country.

F. C. WADE, K.C.

The Treaty of 1903 for the adjustment of the Alaskan boundary provided that the members of the Tribunal should be "impartial jurists of repute." The members appointed by the United States were Secretary Root, a member of a Government which was one of the parties to the dispute; Senator Lodge, who had long and often declared against Canada's contention, and Senator Turner, who was appointed as a guaranty to the Pacific Coast commercial centers that their interests would be preserved. I have no comment to make on this, except the obvious one that a more gross breach of faith on the part of any nation, great or small, could not be imagined, and that we seem to have traveled a long way since the days of Washington, or even Lincoln.

Canada entered a strong but dignified protest against the personnel of the United States side of the Tribunal. Lord Onslow cabled that His Majesty's Government had been as much surprised as Lord Minto's Ministers, but that arguments relative to the fitness of the three American representatives, however convincing, could have no result. He suggested that the British should appoint "representatives who will meet the altered circumstances of the case," in other words, "impartial jurists of repute" of the style of Secretary Root and Senators Lodge and Turner. The cable concluded by asking that these considerations be carefully weighed by Canada, and also that Lord Minto's Ministers would favor His Majesty's Government. On March 6th Canada emphasized her protest, and on March 7th Lord Minto was advised from London that the treaty had been ratified on March 3d previous. Canada refused even then to disregard the terms of the treaty by agreeing to the appointment of prejudiced politicians instead of "impartial jurists of repute," and thereby, as an English journalist has said, saved the credit of the Empire. Nothing remained but to proceed with the work of the Tribunal, since, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier has well said: "Had Canada refused to proceed after the treaty had been signed by the King, the

result would have been that the American flag would have flown over all the disputed territory, or we would have had to fight for our rights."

Although Canada was in this way forced into a treaty not of her own making, it was confidently hoped by many that a great deal of good might come out of it. True, owing to the composition of the United States wing, nothing better than a deadlock could be hoped for—unless, of course, that disinterested friendship which England had so long and sedulously sought after should suddenly have burst into being. But even a deadlock would mean that all the evidence bearing on the case would be laid before the world, and there could be little doubt that in the end the verdict of three prejudiced politicians could not stand against that of three really "impartial jurists of repute," and the United States would be forced to The Hague. Deadlock, it was hoped, would result in arbitration, and with any fair arbitral tribunal Canada had nothing to anticipate but a favorable result.

The Alaska Boundary Tribunal, however, was in no sense an arbitral tribunal. The first article of the Treaty, of 1903 under which it was constituted, provided:

"The Tribunal shall consist of six impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the Tribunal, and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment."

It is important to remember this clear exposition of the powers of the commissioners in view of what followed.

The boundary arranged between England and Russia in 1825 was adopted word for word in the United States Treaty of purchase in 1867.

It would be hard to imagine a more faulty description. The southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island is not in the parallel of 54° 40′, though it is very near it. The line could not ascend north along Portland Channel without first traveling east seventy miles to the mouth of that channel. Nor does Portland Channel go north to the 56th parallel of latitude, but falls some miles short of it. From the 56th degree the line

was to follow "the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast" until it should intersect the 141st degree of west longitude. The treaty is silent as to whether the mountains nearest the coast are meant or mountains farther away. In the absence of definite stipulation one would read it to mean the mountains nearest the coast, because after leaving the first mountains there is no possible principle on which any others could be selected. It was further provided that when the summit of the mountains "which extend in a direction parallel to the coast" should prove to be the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast, which is to belong to Russia, should be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom. On this wording many questions arose. What was the coast of an ocean? Was the mountain boundary to be an uninterrupted chain or a range, or would isolated peaks connected up with a line fulfil the description? What were the sinuosities to be followed when the mountains receded more than ten marine leagues?

The only point on which the contending sides agreed before the Tribunal was that the starting-point should be Cape Muzon, which is not situated in latitude 54° 40′. As to Portland Channel, Canada contended that it was the channel running north of Sitklan, Kannaghunut, Pearse, and Wales Island. The United States contended that it was the channel running south of those islands. No other channel was suggested by any counsel before the Tribunal. With regard to the mountains Canada contended that the mountains bordering the coast of the ocean were the only ones known to navigators at the time and to the negotiators of the treaty, and that they were the mountains referred to in the treaty. The United States contended that a definite unbroken mountain chain was intended by the treaty, and that no such chain existed, and that in default of a mountain chain it was necessary to draw the line of demarcation in all cases ten marine leagues from the ocean coast. They modestly added that by "the coast of the ocean" was meant the heads of all the inlets, some of them extending nearly a hundred miles from the ocean.

The question as to Portland Channel was merely one of identity. It could not be denied that Vancouver had christened the channel north of the four islands Portland Channel. The only reply of the United States Case was that the negotiators, although they had Vancouver's charts before them, had not read his text. The Canadian contention was upheld. It was decided that the negotiators had read Vancouver's text.

To the great surprise of the Canadian members when this question was brought up for formal answer, Lord Alverstone subdivided it into the following two questions:

"1. Does Portland Channel run to the north of Pearse and Wales Islands?

"2. Does Portland Channel run to the north of Sitklan and Kannaghunut Islands?"

The United States Commissioners, who had always scouted the idea that the channel ran north of any of these islands, voted with the British Commissioners that it ran north of Pearse and Wales Islands. Lord Alverstone, who had drawn up the memorandum of judgment of all the British Commissioners that it unquestionably ran north of all the islands, suddenly voted with the United States Commissioners that it did not run north of the Sitklan and Kannaghunut Islands, but that "after passing to the north of Wales Island" it turned south down "the channel between Wales Island and Sitklan Island, called Tongass Channel."

If this was a judicial decision, if this was not a compromise, is it not singular that at the moment when the United States Commissioners decided to change their mind as to two of the islands, and Lord Alverstone decided to change his judgment as to the other two, his Lordship was the one to come forward with a subdivided question which just met the new conditions?

As to the mountain boundary, the Canadian contention was that the line of mountains bordering on the coast and known as Mr. King's line was the one intended by the treaty, and the one which should be accepted.

The finding of the majority of the Commission on this branch of the Case was almost as striking as that with reference to the islands. The United States' objection to Mr. King's line was that it did not constitute an absolutely continuous and

unbroken chain, and therefore could not be accepted as the boundary. There were, they urged, no mountains within the ten-marine-league limit meeting the requirements of the treaty. The only course open to the Tribunal, therefore, was to adopt the ten-marine-league limit. The Tribunal decided, however, that Canada's contention was correct, and that a continuous mountain chain was not necessary. This removed all objection to Mr. King's line. They went further and decided that all that was necessary was to connect isolated mountain peaks, some of them as much as fifty miles apart from each other. They then selected a disconnected lot of peaks as near as possible to the ten-marine-league limit, and in all cases passing around the heads of the inlets and shutting off Canada from the ocean. Again the decision on the principle at issue was in our favor, only to be worked out in such a way as to make it worse than valueless to Canada. As the Canadian members of the Commission stated in their protest, "The Tribunal finds that the Canadian contention is correct as to the existence of mountains within the terms of the treaty: but the fruits of the victory are taken from Canada by fixing as the mountain line a row of mountains so far from the coast as to give the United States substantially nearly all the territory in dispute." They add: "We do not consider the finding of the Tribunal as to the islands at the entrance of Portland Canal or as to the mountain line a judicial one, and we have, therefore, declined to be parties to the award." This statement aroused the indignation of Lord Alverstone, who stated it to be beneath his dignity to furnish any reply or explanation. President Roosevelt declared: "This award is the greatest diplomatic victory of our times." The President is careful to use the word "diplomatic."

The most serious blow to Canada is the part of the decision which makes the mountains run around the heads of inlets, as this makes every inlet part of the absolute territory of Russia, and shuts off Canada from approach to the ocean by inlets, arms of the sea, estuaries, and inland seas for a distance of 600 miles, thereby accomplishing, in part, the long cherished object of the United States. The only grounds on which such a decision could be based are:

1. That the words "coast of the ocean" mean and include the heads of inlets, or

2. That it was the intention of the treaty of 1825 to give Russia an unbroken and impenetrable strip of territory along the northwest coast of America.

It seems to be impossible to come to any other conclusion than that reached by the Canadian Commissioners, namely, that Canada's interests were sacrificed and her just rights ignored by the majority of the Tribunal. "Our position during the conference of the Tribunal," they say, "has been an unfortunate one. We have been in entire accord between ourselves, and have, severally and jointly, urged our views as strongly as we were able, but we have been compelled to witness the sacrifice of the interests of Canada, powerless to prevent it, though satisfied that the course the majority determined to pursue in respect to the matters specially referred to ignored the just rights of Canada."

PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH

The British Government, in consequence of this Alaskan decision, is once more upbraided with careless sacrifice of Canadian interests. This complaint, in which the voice of even the late Sir John Bourinot is heard, derives some color of probability on the present occasion from the assiduity with which Great Britain is just now deeming it politic to cultivate American friendship. Nevertheless it is baseless. The British Government has always done for us the best that diplomacy could do. In the Oregon dispute it went to the very verge of war. Beyond the verge it could not possibly have gone. It has pleaded our case to the utmost of its ability, and through the best advocates that it could command. But it has had no *ratio ultima*. Would its people have allowed it, for a belt of territory on the other side of the Atlantic which they could not point out in the map and pictured to themselves only as a snowy waste, to engage in mortal conflict with a powerful nation of their own race, defeat in which would have been not only loss and dishonor, but almost ruin? What, in a war with the United States, would become of England's mercantile marine, of her foreign trade, of her indispensable supply of

cotton? The United States are self-fed; Great Britain depends for food on supplies from abroad. Nor could her colonies feed her in time of war. They would be involved in the war and their transport would be cut off. Those who remember the case of the Ashburton treaty will bear witness that the Government of Sir Robert Peel gave the subject their most anxious attention and did for Canada all that was in their power. But Brougham spoke for the nation when he avowed that he did not care where the boundary was fixed so long as there was peace. Palmerston played his usual part, denounced the treaty as a capitulation, and tried to raise a storm. But there was no response to his appeal. The right of the British Government to cede, of course, we could not dispute. The territory of a dependency belongs to the sovereign power, which is at liberty, in disposing of it, to consult the interests of the Empire at large and particularly those of the Imperial people.

In this Alaska case the judgment was delivered by a British judge whose capacity is admitted on all hands, and whose uprightness can not be seriously impeached.

We have a monument of the care of the British Government for us in the agreement restricting the launching of vessels of war on the lakes. An early consequence of "the cultivation of childish hostility to the Americans," which Sir Richard Cartwright so earnestly deprecates, would probably be the renunciation of that agreement, putting our cities and towns on the lakes and our railway communication along the shore of Lake Superior at the mercy of an American flotilla.

Nor can it be justly said of the Americans that they have shown themselves regardless of right. They may have driven hard bargains, and perhaps have got more than their due. They, not very unnaturally, regarded England as a foreign power meddling with the concerns of a continent in which the chief interest was theirs. But when they might have taken all they would by force, they have submitted to international law. Had they chosen in this Alaska case to rule in their own favor, and decline submission to arbitration, we should have had no means of enforcing their submission. Let the military qualities of our people be what they may, can we possibly hope that we should be able to hold our own against a nation

which outnumbers us fourteen times, which would be rapidly equipped for war; which has shown that it can at short notice put half a million of men into the field, and has now a considerable navy? It happened that the Americans, if they had chosen to refuse arbitration and settle the question by force, might have appealed with effect to a recent precedent in point. The Transvaal Government proposed to submit to arbitration the question of sovereignty on which the alleged right of interference with the internal affairs of that Republic depended. Its prayer was refused on the singular ground that to submit to arbitration would have been to give away the whole case; as, if the arbitrators had been fair, it most unquestionably would.

REDISCOVERY OF EARTH'S OLDEST CITY

A.D. 1904

DR. EDGAR J. BANKS[1]

Recent years have made remarkable discoveries of the remains of ancient cities in Babylonia, the Asiatic land in the valley of the Euphrates River. So far as we have any definite evidence, this region was the earliest home of civilized man. It is here indeed that the Bible places the Garden of Eden, the seat of the creation. The entire valley is dotted with mounds or hills which are the tombs of long-buried cities. Germany, France, England, and the United States have all sent scientific expeditions to delve into these mounds, and many of the hills have been carefully explored, though the Turkish Government, which nominally rules the now half-desert valley, has done everything to obstruct the work of the excavators. In this way, Babylon and Nineveh, the two chief ancient cities of the region, have been thoroughly explored, and are proved to have been capitals of comparatively late growth. Babylon, the older of the two, was probably founded by the conqueror, Sargon, who lived about 3800 B.C.

Far older cities than these have recently been discovered; and what seems to have been the very oldest of all, "earth's earliest city," was unearthed in 1904 by an expedition headed by Dr. Edgar J. Banks. Dr. Banks has written an interesting book describing his expedition, and we here give in briefer form a summary of his work from his own pen. He believes the name of this ancient city to have been Udnun, though the mound of ruins is known to the present inhabitants of the region as Bismya.

IN a sand-swept belt of Central Babylonia, that country of ancient ruins, in a region dangerous and deserted because far from water, and on the border of the territory of several hostile Arab tribes, lies the low ruin of Bismya. Few explorers have ever visited it, and those few did so at the peril of their lives. Dr. Peters of New York, while excavating at Nippur, discovered at Bismya a clay tablet of an ancient date. German explorers are reported to have said that the ruins originated with the civilization of the Arabs. However, not only the age of the ruins, but the name and history of the ancient

[1] Reproduced from *Putnam's Magazine* by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York and London.

city of which they are composed, continued a mystery until recently.

In the autumn of 1900, application for permission to excavate the ancient Babylonian city of Ur was submitted to the Sublime Porte. A year spent at the Turkish capital in pushing the application from one department to another resulted only in a refusal. Permission to excavate at other points was then requested, with the same result, and it was not until the autumn of 1903 that an American fleet, then in Turkish waters, forced from the Turks an irade, permitting the excavation of Bismya.

A long journey of a month across the Arabian desert to Bagdad, and another week southward into Babylonia, brought me to Bismya in company with an intriguing Turkish commissioner who had been instructed to place every possible obstacle in my way, and with a few hardly less loyal native servants.

With the workmen employed from the nearest tribe at the rate of twelve cents a day, wells were dug through the hard crust of the surface and the loose sand beneath, but with repeated failure. Finally on Christmas day, 1903, water was reached at a depth of thirty-five feet; though bitter, it was drinkable, and one of the difficulties which had kept previous excavators from Bismya was removed. The work of excavation was begun on that Christmas day.

The first view of Bismya was disappointing. The fear that the ruins might not date from a great antiquity was increased by their slight elevation above the surface, for nowhere do they exceed forty feet in height. They consist of a series of parallel ridges, about a mile long and half as wide. Intersecting them near the center, and dividing the ancient city into two parts, is the bed of a former canal.

An examination of the surface of a Babylonian mound may reveal the nature and the age of what one may expect to find beneath. Most ruins are covered with the fragments of broken pottery, and at Bismya the potsherds were so numerous that the ground beneath was in places invisible. If among the potsherds are glazed fragments, the surface of the ruin at least does not date from Babylonian times, but

if fragments of polished stone vases, an occasional flint implement, and small, rounded bricks appear, the ruin is of the greatest antiquity. Such were the objects upon the surface of Bismya, and the fear that the ruins were modern was dispelled.

At the excavations the workmen are divided into gangs consisting of the foreman with a pick, two assistants with triangular hoes, and several men with baskets to carry the dirt to the dump. The gang begins the work half way up the slope of the mound by digging a trench toward its center. Whenever a wall is discovered, the trench follows it to a doorway and into the interior of the structure. At Bismya gangs were placed at the four sides of the square mound which rose from the bed of the ancient canal; its shape suggested the ruins of a staged temple tower.

The result was the discovery of the oldest temple in the world. The walls of the tower soon appeared; the summit was cleared, and the first inscription discovered upon the surface was a brick stamped with the name of Dungi of 2750 B.C. Just beneath it were other bricks bearing the name of UrGur of 2800 B.C.; a little lower appeared a crumpled piece of gold with the name of Naram Sin of 3750 B.C., and just below that level were the large, square bricks peculiar to Sargon of 3800 B.C., probably the first of the Semitic kings of Babylonia. Although we had dug but a meter and a half below the bricks of Dungi, we had revealed several strata extending over the period from 2750 B.C. to 3800 B.C., or more than a thousand years, and still eleven meters of earlier ruins lay beneath us. We dug lower; unknown types of bricks appeared, and two and a half meters from the surface we came upon a large platform constructed of the peculiar plano-convex bricks which were the building material of 4500 B.C. Shafts were sunk through this platform and through stratum after stratum of the mud, brick, dirt, ashes, and potsherds below. Five and a half meters beneath the surface we discovered a large bronze lion terminating in a spike. At a depth of eight and a half meters were two large urns filled with ashes; two meters below them was a smaller urn, and away down upon the desert level, fourteen meters from the surface, the ground was strewn with

fragments of baked, thrown pottery of graceful design. We were then down among the beginnings of things.

The few upper strata of the ruins could be dated from the inscriptions which they contained, but below them was nothing to guide us but the depth of the débris in which the various objects were buried. The upper two and a half meters represented the period 2750–4500 B.C. Then how long a time is represented by the remaining eleven meters of the ruins beneath? No one can say. One may only surmise that the early Mesopotamians who first settled in the plain, and who formed upon the wheel the graceful pottery still found there, lived fully ten thousand years ago, and perhaps earlier. So great was the antiquity of the ruin which we had feared might be modern!

As the earth was removed from the edge of the platform of plano-convex bricks, there appeared the ancient refuse-heap of the temple. Most of the objects which adorn the archeological museums of Europe were once discarded by the ancients as worthless, and this old temple dump proved to be a veritable treasure-house. Dozens of baskets of marble, alabaster, onyx, and porphyry vases, fragmentary and entire, were recovered. Some of the bases bore inscriptions in a most archaic character; others were engraved with strange designs or inlaid with ivory and stone. Representing almost every conceivable shape, they present a valuable contribution to the study of the earliest art.

Among the most interesting objects of a lower stratum at Bismya was a conch shell from which a section had been cut, so that it formed a perfect oil-lamp, while the valve of the shell served as a groove for the support of the wick. The sea-shell was the lamp of primitive man. In the temple dump appeared several alabaster blocks cut into the form suggested by the early shell lamp. Later, the lamps of stone were decorated with reticulated lines; the groove for the wick was ornamented, and in one example it terminates in the head of a ram. Thus the sea-shell is now known to have been the ancestor of the lamp which later was adopted by the Hebrews and the Greeks and then by modern nations.

Trenches were dug about the base of the temple tower,

where there seemed to have been secret passages for the priests. While excavating beneath the west corner of the tower, a bright-eyed Arab excitedly called me to the trench, and pointed to a piece of white marble projecting from the clay. Transferring the agitated Arabs to another part of the ruin, I waited until the work of the day was over, and then, with my own hands, dug out the oldest statue in the world. It was lying upon its back as it had fallen from the platform above. In cutting away the hard clay at its feet, I found that the toes were missing, but they were recovered in fragments at the base. Then I dug toward the head, but at the neck the marble came to an end. The head was gone! We bore the heavy statue upon our shoulders to the camp, and there, placing it in a bathtub, we scrubbed away the earth which clung to it. Upon the right upper shoulder appeared an archaic inscription of three lines. Just a month later, while excavating at the farther end of the trench, a hundred feet away, two marble heads were found lying upon the floor in the corner of the chamber; one of them, when placed upon the headless neck, fitted it, and the statue was complete!

The statue is remarkable. Not only is it the oldest statue in the world, but it is the only perfect Babylonian statue yet discovered. The style of its art, its costume, its arms which at the elbows are free from the body, its location when found, and the archaic character of its inscription all point to a date not far from 4500 B.C., and justify the assertion that at that remote age Babylonian civilization was at its highest point. The brief inscription, containing a mass of the information for which we had been seeking, gave "Emach" as the name of the temple, "Udnun" as the city in which we were excavating, and "Daud" or David as the Sumerian king whom the statue represents. The names of the temple and city had appeared on the recently discovered Hammurabi Code, but the name of the king was unknown excepting as that of the Hebrew David who lived 3500 years later. The statue, although its discovery was a sufficient recompense for the excavations, finally resulted in closing the work at Bismya. During a revolution among the Arabs of the surrounding desert, our camp was raided, and among other things the statue disappeared.

Later it appeared in Bagdad, and although it was chiefly through my own efforts that it was restored to the Turkish Government, the excuse for which the authorities had long been searching was at hand, and the excavations were suspended.

Excavations in the upper strata of the temple hill resulted in the unique discovery of the evolution of the brick. The earliest of all bricks found in the lowest strata were merely sun-dried lumps of clay, and it appears that bricks were not burned until about 4500 B.C., the date given to those of a plano-convex shape. Such bricks are flat on the bottom, where they were placed upon the ground to dry, and rounded upon the top, and instead of being laid flat they were set upon edge, herring-bone fashion, and cemented with clay or bitumen. The inscription which characterized the bricks of a later period had not yet appeared, but the kings who employed the plano-convex bricks conceived the idea of giving them a distinguishing mark by pressing the thumb into the clay before it was baked. That thumb-mark was the origin of the brick inscription. The bricks of later rulers were larger and less convex, and lines varying in direction and in number were drawn by the fingers to serve as marks. In 3800 B.C., Sargon adopted the large, square brick, the form of which continued to the end of the Babylonian Empire, and he appears to have been the first to employ an inscription. Bismya yielded three brick stamps of Naram Sin, the son of Sargon. Each was inscribed "Naram Sin, the builder of the temple of the goddess Ishtar." This long series of bricks discovered at Bismya, forty-five in number, not only shows the evolution of the brick, but presents the archeologist with a clue to the chronology of the earliest Babylonian ruins, enabling him to tell at a glance their relative dates.

It has long been a theory that the early dwellers of Mesopotamia burned their dead, for though Babylonian graves have been found in abundance, they date from toward the close of the Empire. At the south corner of the Bismya temple tower we came upon an oval chamber which had originally been covered with a dome. At one of its ends was a circular platform, about six feet in diameter, with a pit beneath it four

feet deep. As the pit was cleared, it was found to contain two feet of ashes mixed with the sand which had sifted in. The smoke marks upon the adjoining wall, and the terrific heat to which the bricks of the platform had been subjected marked it as a crematory. The body to be cremated was placed upon a platform; flames from a furnace in an adjoining room, passing through a flue, consumed the bodies, and the smoke passed out through a vent above. The ashes, unmixed with the ashes of the furnace, were either gathered for burial in urns or swept into the pit below. This crematory, which was duplicated in a second chamber near by, explains the absence of early Babylonian graves.

The excavations at Bismya have given us our first picture of the life of the Babylonian of 6000 years ago. The statue of David tells us that his head and face were shaved, that his garment was a skirt hanging to the knees, and that his feet were bare. The temple tells us that his highly ritualistic religion required offerings to the gods and goddesses, that the dead kings were venerated and perhaps deified, and that the cremation of the dead in the temple was possibly regarded as a religious rite.

In the eastern parts of the ruins, which mark the residential portion of the city, little remained save the foundations of houses, and scattered implements. As in every age in Mesopotamia, few houses possessed more than a single room. The thick walls of mud brick admitted the light only through the doorway. The height did not exceed a single story, and the roof was probably flat. Earth served as flooring, and the only remaining furniture is an occasional divan of mud bricks built along the wall. In the larger houses a cistern of clay was built into the floor, and then as now it was the duty of the daughters of the family to fill the earthen jars with the water of the canal in the plain below, and bring it to the cistern. Frequently, too, a house was provided with a system of drainage, which speaks well for the sanitary ideas of that age. Although 6000 years old, the city was built upon the ruins of others far older; the sewage was not allowed to run down the sloping sides of the mound, as in modern Oriental towns, but vertical drains constructed of tile rings were sunk through the

earlier ruins to the desert sand below—sometimes a distance of thirty feet.

Now and then we came upon an old oven in which the housewife of sixty centuries ago baked her bread. It was built up of clay, like a huge jug, with an opening at the top, and a small hole at the bottom for draft. Were these ovens not found among ruins of undoubted antiquity, they might be mistaken for the remains of a modern Bedouin encampment. Of the household utensils, few remain. Pots were found in abundance; stone saws, axes, and mortars were less common; bronze needles and knives came to light, but were so corroded that they were preserved with difficulty. The occasional discovery of small terra-cotta bas-reliefs suggested a desire to beautify the walls of the houses, and small clay images, probably the household gods, spoke of the occupants' piety.

More interesting than all else are the toys with which the child of 6000 years ago played. In one house was a baby's rattle of clay; it still produces a noise worthy of entertaining a modern child. Sheep, horses, elephants, and pigs of clay, and of a form unlike anything conceived by the modern child, were the toys of that day.

We do not yet know whether every Babylonian of that age could write, but in many of the houses were found tablets of clay upon which were recorded the private contracts of the owner. In parts of the ruins were clay letters still in the original clay envelopes in which they had been sent.

The Babylonian was essentially a warrior, for most of the bronze objects which the ruins of his home have yielded are spear-heads (both flat and round) and arrow-heads. About the thick walls with which he fortified his city were found traces of the fierce battles which he had fought. At its outer edge, just where the moat may have been, were thousands of the sling-balls employed in the wars of those days. Their location shows that they were hurled from without the city at the inhabitants upon the wall, but many of them, striking below their mark, fell into the trench. Though the date of this prehistoric battle is uncertain, its result is apparent.

It seems that the city fell into the hands of the besiegers. Its temple was plundered; the statues were beheaded and

thrown from their pedestals, and the chambers of the priests were razed. The fate of the people and their homes could not have differed from that which usually befell Oriental cities in time of war. The prosperity of Udnun departed, its civilization came to an end. It was not until 3800 B.C. that Sargon, perhaps one of the first of the Semitic kings in Mesopotamia, built another city upon its ruins.

THE VENEZUELAN ARBITRATION

THE MONROE DOCTRINE ADMITTED AS INTERNATIONAL LAW

A.D. 1904

THEODORE ROOSEVELT PROF. EDWIN MAXEY
HON. HERBERT W. BOWEN

More and more the United States is coming to be looked upon as the "big brother" of the South-American nations. She has not always been a kindly and forbearing brother, she wrenched Panama rather rudely from the harsh grip of Colombia; and as a result the Spanish people do not feel particularly well disposed toward her. Yet most of them stand ready to admit that without the protection of her Monroe Doctrine they would have been long since devoured by the European Powers.

The state which has, most defiantly of all, flaunted her irregularities before the eyes of Europe is Venezuela. There rebellion has followed rebellion in almost monotonous succession; and each new government has sought to evade paying the debts of its predecessor. Europe has grown more and more discontented. In Cleveland's time the United States protected Venezuela against England in a boundary dispute, and succeeded in getting the disagreement referred to a court of arbitration. But in 1903 a far more serious situation arose. The United States had to protect her ill-bred little brother from the resentment not of one country but of a dozen. Cipriano Castro, a wild, half-Indian rebel, had unexpectedly conquered Venezuela, and held rule in its capital of Caracas. Under the usual pretext of an appeal to liberty, he was slaying many people and plundering all. More serious than this in European eyes, he was refusing to pay any of the hundreds of claims which foreigners advanced against him and his followers. Hence all Europe threatened him by force of arms; and once more the United States intervened. The case was decided by an arbitration court in 1904.

This, as President Roosevelt here points out, was probably the chief triumph arbitration had yet achieved. Moreover, it brought the Monroe Doctrine definitely before the world as a fairly accepted doctrine of International Law. So we give here President Roosevelt's official statement of what was done. This is followed by an explanation of the part which the Monroe Doctrine played in the dispute, the account of this being by Prof. Edwin Maxey of the University of Nebraska, who ranks among our foremost authorities on International Law. Then comes a general review

of the affair from Venezuela's standpoint, which may also be considered official as it is from the pen of the United States Venezuelan Minister at the time, Hon. Herbert Bowen, who acted as Venezuela's chief friend and representative throughout the trouble.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

GREAT BRITAIN, Germany, and Italy formed an alliance for the purpose of blockading the ports of Venezuela and using such other means of pressure as would secure a settlement of claims due, as they alleged, to certain of their subjects. Their employment of force for the collection of those claims was terminated by an agreement brought about through the offices of the diplomatic representatives of the United States at Caracas and the Government at Washington, thereby ending a situation which was bound to cause increasing friction, and which jeoparded the peace of the continent. Under this agreement Venezuela agreed to set apart a certain percentage of the customs receipts of two of her ports to be applied to the payment of whatever obligations might be ascertained by mixed commissions appointed for that purpose to be due from her, not only to the three powers already mentioned, whose proceedings against her had resulted in a state of war, but also to the United States, France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, and Mexico, who had not employed force for the collection of the claims alleged to be due to certain of their citizens.

A demand was then made by the so-called blockading powers that the sums ascertained to be due to their citizens by such mixed commissions should be accorded payment in full before anything was paid upon the claims of any of the so-called peace powers. Venezuela, on the other hand, insisted that all her creditors should be paid upon a basis of exact equality. During the efforts to adjust this dispute it was suggested by the powers in interest that it should be referred to me for decision, but I was clearly of the opinion that a far wiser course would be to submit the question to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. It seemed to me to offer an admirable opportunity to advance

the practise of the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations and to secure for The Hague Tribunal a memorable increase of its practical importance. The nations interested in the controversy were so numerous and in many instances so powerful as to make it evident that beneficent results would follow from their appearance at the same time before the bar of that august tribunal of peace.

Our hopes in that regard have been realized. Russia and Austria are represented in the persons of the learned and distinguished jurists who compose the Tribunal, while Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, Mexico, the United States, and Venezuela are represented by their respective agents and counsel. Such an imposing concourse of nations presenting their arguments to and invoking the decision of that high court of international justice and international peace can hardly fail to secure a like submission of many future controversies. The nations now appearing there will find it far easier to appear there a second time, while no nation can imagine its just pride will be lessened by following the example now presented. This triumph of the principle of international arbitration is a subject of warm congratulation and offers a happy augury for the peace of the world.

PROF. EDWIN MAXEY

The reason for the different standards applied to private and to international actions in these cases is to be found in the practical difficulties in the way of applying the same standard. If treaties of peace were held to be voidable upon the ground of duress, how many treaties of peace would be considered binding? So also unscrupulous Governments would indulge in wholesale oppression of foreign residents and the confiscation of their property if the rights of these residents could in no case be enforced by the country to which they owe allegiance. So far as I can find, Calvo is the only great international law writer who contends that the foreign residents of a country should have no recourse except to the courts of that country. According to this view of what should be international law, if the courts, along with the

other branches of the government, become venal, the foreign resident is left without protection. This would inevitably result in large tracts of territory, nay, even some of the continents, being left undeveloped for centuries to come—because thrift, industry, and enterprise are wanting in their own citizens, and foreigners possessing these characteristics would not enter such countries if the protection of their own flag did not follow them. On the other hand, it is difficult to approve a provision of international law that violates the principle of the equality of all sovereign States in that it gives to the more powerful State a right that, as a matter of fact, can not be exercised by the weaker ones.

As between sanctioning a rule that would encourage irresponsibility on the part of one class of States and one that tends toward tyranny on the part of another class, it seems to us that there is middle ground—arbitration. This would at least be an equitable as well as a practical method of determining upon the validity and the amount of the claims; and, as for the enforcing of the award, the objection that the arbitration tribunal could not compel payment seems to us to have more theoretical than practical force, inasmuch as solvent States would not, except in very rare cases, refuse to carry out the terms of an award—and as against insolvent States even force is impotent.

But the present controversy has raised not only the question of the rights of debtor and creditor, *i.e.*, of the parties to the quarrel, but also the rights of neutrals. This latter question grows out of the character of the blockade. If, as first announced, the blockade was to be wholly a pacific one, then the commerce of neutrals could not be interfered with. The operation would be confined exclusively to the ships of Venezuela and those of the allies. To us it seems that a pacific blockade is as much a contradiction in terms as would be *friendly hostilities*. A blockade is manifestly a war measure, regardless of any formal declaration of war. It is an appeal to force—an interference with the intercourse of a State not compatible with the coexistence of friendly relations. The frank statement of Premier Balfour that "war exists" between Venezuela and the allies not only cleared

the atmosphere in the present controversy, but will no doubt go a long way toward putting an end to the use of the term "pacific blockade" as descriptive of any situation known to international law. During the continuance of the blockade not only Venezuela but neutrals will suffer because of the interruption of their commerce; and in this respect the United States is especially concerned, as her trade with Venezuela is greater than that of all other neutrals combined, and is equal to that of England, Germany, and France, our closest three competitors.

But there is involved not merely the question of debtor and creditor and the commerce of neutrals: the proceedings involve the more delicate question of the character and application of the Monroe Doctrine. Up to the present time the Monroe Doctrine has not been a part of international law —it has been simply a political policy of the United States; and, no matter how often this policy were reiterated by the United States, such reiteration would not make it a part of international law. It is not within the province of any one State to make international law: the consent of other nations is a necessary element in order to convert a national policy into a principle of international law. Yet has not the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine by England, Germany, and Italy, and their pledges not to violate it by the seizure and occupation of territory in Venezuela, changed said Doctrine from merely a national policy to a recognized principle of international law?

If not, why not? That the recognition was made reluctantly does not alter the effect. Neither does it matter that it was not made in a conference or congress of the nations: a great many of the now well-recognized principles of international law have originated outside of any conference or congress, and have never been formally sanctioned by them. In reply to the objection that it has not been unanimously recognized, and hence is not entitled to be considered as a principle of international law, we would say that very few principles of international law ever have received unanimous recognition. Even the principles enunciated at the Paris conference in 1856 have never been recognized as binding

by the United States, Mexico, and Spain; yet few would contend that they are not part of international law. It may be asked what difference it makes whether the Monroe Doctrine is a principle of international law or a national policy, since it must in the ultimate analysis be maintained, if maintained at all, by force. There is this difference, which seems to us a substantial one: if it is a principle of international law the nation failing or refusing to respect it is a violator of law, and no reputable nation is anxious to acquire a reputation as a lawbreaker; while if it is simply a national policy there is no such obligation to respect it.

As to the application of the Monroe Doctrine, the present controversy has thrown considerable light, in that it has defined it, negatively at least, as not being a shield for the purpose of enabling any nation to escape paying its just debts. It is unfortunate that there should ever have been any hope entertained that it would be so used.

It is now probable that the strife between England, Germany, and Italy and Venezuela—three whales and a wildcat—will be ended by a submission of the whole matter to arbitration. This will be doubly fortunate, as it will not only put an end to a disagreeable situation, but will also constitute a very strong and valuable precedent for the settlement of similar controversies in the future. The part played by the United States has been a very diplomatic and creditable one; it has rendered valuable service to all parties concerned. Especial credit is due to Minister Bowen for the energy, wisdom, and statesmanship he has shown in the performance of the delicate tasks entrusted to him by all parties. To him has been given an exceptional opportunity for rendering valuable service, and he has shown himself equal to the emergency.

HON. HERBERT W. BOWEN*

Cipriano Castro, upon coming into power in Venezuela, found himself in the singular position of a ruler whose country was in revolution against him, and who was defendant in a suit brought by a majority of the nations of the world for a

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settlement of the wrongs Venezuela had inflicted on their respective citizens and subjects. The situation would have been absolutely appalling "to a brain unencompassed with nerves of steel"; but Castro never lost his self-confidence or courage. He set to work immediately to plan his campaign against the revolution, and at the decisive moment he took command in person of his handful of troops, and defeated his enemies so completely that those whom he did not capture fled to foreign shores. On his return to his capital he announced, with grim humor, that he had "pacified" the country, meaning, of course, that he had exorcised the spirit of the revolution and had crushed its body.

He was now free to give his attention to the claimant nations. Some of them he hardly knew by name, as his education had been barely rudimentary, and as he had never traveled beyond the enchanted isles of the Caribbean Sea. He "posted" himself, however, quickly and accurately, and then devised the simple but sagacious plan of separating his foreign enemies into two parties—one peaceable and the other aggressive. As he had learned that the United States would never join European nations in undertaking coercive measures against a sister American republic, he headed the list of his peaceable enemies with the United States, and then added France, as he had been assured that the French Cable Company could restrain the French Government from taking any steps that would make France unpopular in Venezuela. Spain, Mexico, and Belgium he now put down on the same list, as they were without navies, and he concluded it with Holland and Sweden and Norway, which he judged had had too little experience in the matter of aggression to undertake it, at short notice, even in alliance with their powerful neighbors. To the diplomatic notes of those on the peaceable list he sent answers that were at once deferential and dilatory. To the three nations on the aggressive list—Germany, Great Britain, and Italy—the notes he addressed were distinctly defiant and plainly provocative. They forthwith replied with war-ships, which seized his navy and blockaded his ports. A word to his press-agents, and they informed the world that his navy consisted of only a few antiquated gunboats and pleasure-yachts

used for police purposes; that the blockade was simply causing the fishermen along the Venezuelan coast to suffer the tortures of starvation; and that a great alliance of mighty European nations against him was wholly unnecessary, as he was willing to pay all just claims, but could not meet grossly exaggerated demands. The world read and sympathized with him, and the blockaders found their position ridiculous.

Having no practical plan of their own for settling the controversy, the allies accepted Castro's proposal that plenipotentiaries of the parties in interest should meet in Washington. The result was that an equitable arrangement was duly made by virtue of which all claims of all nations were to be scrutinized carefully by competent mixed commissions, and the awards made by them should be paid by Venezuela in reasonable annual instalments. Castro's war-ships were now returned to him and the blockade was raised. His foreign enemies were now "pacified" also, although not in the same sense as the revolution had been.

Up to this point in his career his diplomacy was perfectly intelligible, as well as very remarkable, both in conception and execution. He kept himself substantially all the time in the right and his enemies in the wrong. The claims were mercilessly cut down by the mixed commissions, and an enormous sum of money was consequently saved to him and his country.

All that now remained for him to do before settling down to routine work was to find the means of preventing wealthy foreign corporations holding valuable property and rights in Venezuela from promoting, aiding, or abetting conspiracies against him in the future as they had done during the recent revolution. His first step was to secure proof of complicity. Rumor soon reported that his efforts had been successful even beyond his anticipation, and that he actually had in his possession documents that would, if published, convict the two principal foreign corporations—the American Asphalt Company and the French Cable Company—of having been hand-in-glove with the very leaders of the revolution. At all events, he suddenly deprived those two companies of their immensely valuable property and rights in Venezuela. In doing so he took absolute personal control of his courts, and

dictated to them what decisions they should render. The whole procedure was irregular and illegal, and caused the wires of telegraphic communication to vibrate to all parts of Europe and America.

As it is the peculiar province and duty of every nation to defend the property and rights of its citizens from all piratical assaults, and not to tolerate illegal procedure even against a criminal, no one was surprised when Mr. Hay sent his so-called ultimatum, in which he stated (see *United States Foreign Relations*, 1903), "The attitude of the Venezuelan Government toward the Government of the United States, and toward the interests of its citizens, who have suffered so grave and frequent wrongs arbitrarily committed by the Government of Venezuela, require that justice should now be fully done, once for all."

Castro replied without delay, in his most defiant tone and manner, and then seemingly dismissed the subject from his mind. To his anxious friends, who expected to see American war-ships land troops within a fortnight at La Guayra, he showed without comment a cablegram he had received from his special agent in Washington stating substantially that his attitude would be ignored, or that conciliatory assurances would be sent in reply. The diplomatic world was astounded, and remains astounded to this day. All know that Mr. Hay was not the kind of man to send an ultimatum unless it was absolutely necessary as a matter of national honor, and that having done so he would not have met a defiant reply with assurances of his high esteem and excuses of absence of mind. The special agent's cablegram, nevertheless, was truthful and accurate, but he did not state from whom he had received the pledge that Mr. Hay's ultimatum should be considered nugatory. Castro evidently knew who the personage was, and had evidently counted on him to act in his interests at the decisive moment. Mr. Hay, sensitive as but few public men are, now broke down completely in health, and no further steps were taken by the United States to secure justice for the Asphalt Company until his successor, Mr. Root, had made a careful study of the Venezuelan subject. Then Venezuela was informed (see *Foreign Relations*, 1903) that the United States wished to settle the questions between the United States and

Venezuela not in either of the ways (arbitration or force) suggested by Mr. Hay's ultimatum, but through the confidential channels of diplomacy. Castro, however, preferred to keep possession of the asphalt property, and not even to discuss the matter.

The French cable case was conducted by Castro substantially in the same manner as the asphalt case was. The property was seized, the French Government protested and threatened to use force, and when Castro answered defiantly, lost no time in changing its policy to one of conciliatory inactivity. In this case also, Castro allowed the rumor to spread that he had secrets in his possession that assured his success.

Granting, as we very properly may, in the absence of direct proof, that the secret influence he claimed to have in Washington and Paris was wholly imaginary, the fact remains that it would be difficult to find in all the history of diplomacy two stranger cases than the asphalt and the cable cases are, and hardly anything more mysterious than the masterful manner in which they were managed by Castro.

The world has seen many diplomats of great ability, but would have difficulty in naming even one who could have been so uniformly successful as Castro was in his conflicts, domestic and foreign, with the odds always greatly against him at the start. The main objection to his diplomacy is that it never uplifted either him or his people morally, and was never consciously employed to promote the welfare of the human race. His diplomacy, therefore, while exceptionally able, was painfully lacking in greatness and nobility.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

A.D. 1904

PROF. CHARLES F. HORNE
COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

A complete and accurate account of all the details of the Russo-Japanese conflict can not yet be written. Probably it never will be. The Japanese Government is preparing a voluminous publication, which is to include an official narrative of everything that happened. But this valuable work speaks naturally from Japan's standpoint; and it is not probable that a similar publication will ever emanate from Russia. The following account may be accepted as being impartial and as close to the ascertained facts as any work can be at this time. Both Russian and Japanese official authorities have lent courteous aid to its compilation, supplied information not otherwise attainable, and directed attention to such sources as most nearly represent the official viewpoints of their several countries.

Books for further reading upon the war are already numerous, but not wholly satisfactory. An English reader will find that most of the works that he encounters are misleading through their partiality to Japan. There is an interesting periodical, "The Russo-Japanese War Illustrated," published in English by the firm of Kinkodo Company, in Tokyo. The records of the United States War College supply authoritative accounts of several of the chief battles; and we have, of course, the newspaper reports and the individual experience of various newspaper correspondents who followed the armies on either side. Of works dealing with causes and conditions rather than military operations, the most notable is perhaps "Russia of To-day," by Baron von der Bruggen, which has been translated by M. Sandwith. This assumes a somewhat pro-Russian view; and the reader might also be referred to B. Putnam Weal's "Re-shaping of the Far East," or upon Japan's side to Alfred Stead's "Great Japan" and "Japan by the Japanese." There is also a volume by L. Dickinson, "The Russian Navy in the Russo-Japanese War," translated from the work of the Russian naval official, Captain Klado; and a very instructive and impartial volume, "The New Far East," by Thomas Millard.

We also offer here the somewhat startling view of the war, its meaning and its consequences, by the greatest of Russian writers. Count Leo Tolstoy was, until his death in 1910, the recognized voice of his nation to

the world, not the voice of official Russia, which acts, but the cry of unofficial Russia, which suffers and endures. Tolstoy's thoughtful, final estimate of the war is worth the careful consideration of us all.

CHARLES F. HORNE

THE war between Russia and Japan began in February, 1904, and ended in August, 1905. The struggle was gigantic and momentous. Already its results have deeply affected the course of civilization, and they may perhaps avert the entire future of subjugation which at one time seemed the destiny of the Mongolian race.

Where such world-embracing interests have been at stake, an accurate summing up of events, and full elucidation of motives, is no easy task; and the historian's labor is here made doubly difficult by the fact that both parties in the conflict fully appreciated the value of approval from the remainder of humanity, and made open appeal for sympathy. If we read only the statements of Russia and Russia's friends, we find the Empire of the North standing forth as the magnanimous champion of civilization against a cunning, treacherous, and cruel barbarism. On the other hand, the pro-Japanese press grows at times hysterical over the insolence and falsity, the avarice and brutality of Russia's advance. If, however, we once for all reject the idea that we are dealing with monsters upon either side or saints upon the other, if also we put away our very natural human admiration for the little fellow who has dared to face and managed to overcome a gigantic adversary, if we look for a moment at nothing but demonstrated facts, the outlines of the dispute become fairly clear.

Russia has long desired to extend her empire. A generation ago she took possession of Saghalien, the most northern of the Japanese islands. Later she raised her flag upon another isle, Tsushima, and was expelled by a British man-of-war. These at the time were mere side-issues in the vast schemes of the Empire of the North. She was planning to develop her enormous Siberian domain, to make it powerful and profitable. To do this, she built her wonderful trans-Siberian railway. Next, she needed com-

munication with the oceans of the East, not by way of frozen Saghalien or Vladivostok, the mis-named "Empress City of the Orient," whose arctic harbor is blocked with ice through six long winter months. What she sought was a real port, which should be always open to traffic. So she secured from China a so-called "lease" of the celebrated fortress, Port Arthur, and gradually took possession of all Manchuria, the vast Chinese province that separates Port Arthur from Siberia.

This seizure was both insolent and avaricious, if one chooses to call it so; but the "earth-hunger" that affects all the great European powers has long established as a fundamental principle, that races lacking European civilization, must be taken possession of and "developed," whether they will or no. In similar manner has England occupied India and Egypt and Southern Africa; and the comparison might be pushed to other instances as well. Russia, in thus assuming her share of the "white man's burden," the "duties of Imperialism," was of course compelled to ignore the desires of the Asiatics themselves. Her chief anxiety was to placate her European rivals and prevent their interference. In this she was so successful that she sought to reach out still farther and continue her advance.

Port Arthur and Vladivostok are eight hundred miles apart, or fifteen hundred if one follows the sea, for between these two strongholds intervenes the peninsula of Korea, extending far eastward. Its possession would have united and solidified the Russian territories; moreover, at its very tip lay Fusan and Masampo, one, the most convenient port, the other, the most perfect natural fortress on all the Eastern coasts. Russia tried to secure a lease of Masampo from the Korean Emperor, and for this purpose sent to his court M. Pavloff, the same accomplished diplomat that had wrung the "lease" of Port Arthur from unwilling China. So well arranged were Russia's home alliances that no protest against this new step came from Europe, and Korea seemed destined to be taken as Manchuria had been. The only opposition came from the unconsidered Asiatics themselves, from Korea and Japan.

Japan's interest in the question was intense and of vital import. The tip of the Korean peninsula in the vicinity of

Fusan and Masampo is the nearest mainland to the Japanese islands. One need not lose sight of land in the passage. Twice in far-distant centuries had the peninsula been overrun and conquered by Japanese armies. But in her self-satisfied isolation Japan had taken small interest in her conquest, had neglected and almost forgotten it. With her sudden modern awakening, however, the "Island Kingdom," imitating European nations in the arts of war and peace, began to imitate them also in her ideas of expansion. Moreover, with the cessation of the old civil wars among her chiefs, with improved sanitation, medical teaching, and all the knowledge of the West for the protection of life, the population of Japan began a rapid increase. The islands were fast becoming overcrowded. Some outlet for the excess seemed absolutely necessary; and the statesmen of the Mikado's court turned naturally to Korea as affording this.

It was in re-assertion of her ancient hold upon Korea that Japan fought with China in 1894; but her astonishing success in that war brought down upon her the angry weight of Russia, France, and Germany, combined. If any part of China was to pass under foreign dominion, they wanted it themselves; and their united menace compelled Japan to relinquish the territory around Port Arthur, which had been ceded to her as part of the spoils of victory. Immediately afterward Germany demanded possession of a Chinese port; Russia followed suit with the lease of Port Arthur; England, not to be behindhand, added still another district to her already valuable Chinese possessions. Then came the intrusion of Russia into Korea. All this, of course, was explained and arranged with much polite and diplomatic language. Every one's chief expressed motive was the "peace and prosperity of Asia," the "integrity of Chinese territory" in general, and the independence of Manchuria and Korea in particular. But gradually it must have become obvious to the dullest Asiatic mind that Japan must assert herself vigorously or be crowded back into her islands, perhaps devoured in her turn.

At first she tried to match Russia at the diplomatic game, and her devotion to Korean independence has been as widely proclaimed — upon paper — as has Russia's. Nevertheless,

Japanese agents in the Korean capital of Seoul were specially handicapped. While the Koreans dreaded and disliked all these intruding foreigners, their bitterest feeling was directed against the Japanese, who in ancient days had desolated the land. Moreover, some Japanese soldiers slew the Korean queen, a method of argument poorly calculated to win the good-will of her husband or his subjects.

Thus, at Seoul, Japan found herself rapidly losing ground against the astute M. Pavloff. Her protests to the Russian Government became more and more vigorous. She even offered to recognize Russia's authority over Manchuria, if the Northern Empire would refrain from interference in Korea. But Russia saw no necessity for any compromise; the diplomatic game was going wholly in her favor, and she had only to keep Japan in check while waiting to take possession of the entire stakes. The Russian Government has had much experience in dealing with Orientals, and appeared to think it possible to delay and protract indefinitely the correspondence with Japan. It hardly occurred to Russia that the Japanese would be so foolish as to fight. If they did, she would simply crush them, and take more territory. Already at the beginning of 1904 her armed force in the East was nominally as strong as Japan's; but to make all sure she sent out more troops and started a squadron of war-ships from the Mediterranean to reënforce that already in the East. At the same time (February 3, 1904) the Russian Asiatic fleet made a "demonstration in force," sailing out of Port Arthur in battle array, as if to tell Japan to beware.

The next thing that happened was unexpected from the Russian official standpoint. Russian naval men in the East had been prophesying for months that war would come; but Russian diplomats, headed by M. Pavloff, were quite positive that Japan had too much sense to hurl herself upon inevitable ruin by attacking their mighty Empire. Herein lay their mistake. They underrated both the ability and the self-confidence of their foe. For years Japan had been seriously and steadily preparing for this very war. Remembering how she had been driven from Port Arthur by the combined menace of Russia, France, and Germany, she, in 1902, made a treaty

of alliance with England, receiving promise of aid if she were attacked by more than a single foe. With truly Oriental patience she meditated every feature, outlined every possibility of her chances of revenge against the power that had robbed her of Port Arthur. In February, 1904, she saw that the time had come. To wait until a second Russian fleet arrived to reënforce the first, would place her at a dangerous disadvantage. She must strike at once—or never. On February 6th she notified the Russian Government that diplomatic relations between them were at an end, and on the same day the Japanese fleet, comprising the entire naval strength of the country, steamed across the narrow Korean strait to find the Russian war-ships and give them battle.

Russia, in her desire for sympathy, has complained of Japanese treachery in thus rushing upon her without a formal declaration of war; but the majority of modern wars have begun without any such declaration. The breaking off of diplomatic relations is an open threat that a blow will follow. Sometimes it does; sometimes it is withheld, and negotiations are resumed. Wars have frequently continued for years without any formal notice issuing from either combatant.

As the Japanese fleet under its now famous chieftain, Admiral Togo, advanced upon the Korean coast, it encountered and took possession of a Russian trading-vessel named the "Russia." The coincidence was seized upon by the sailors as a happy omen. They shouted to each other from ship to ship, "Russia is captured. She is ours." This was the first act of open war, and we may accept its date (February 6th) as beginning the terrific conflict.

If we pause here to understand what may be called the broad ground-plan of the operations of the war, the military problem that confronted each contestant is fairly clear. For Japan, the chief point, indeed the one absolute necessity, was to keep control of the sea, and so prevent Russia from landing an army in Japan itself and making the war one of invasion and utter desolation. Beyond this Japan's aim must be to ship her own troops to the mainland and with them win possession of Korea, the real subject of dispute, and, if possible, of Port Arthur, from which Russian diplomacy had expelled

her. If she could accomplish all this, the Island kingdom might then consider the possibility of driving the Russian forces out of Manchuria and Vladivostok, or even expelling them wholly from the East.

Russia, on her side, might plan to destroy the enemy's navy and then bombard the ports and desolate the islands at leisure. Or, if her Asiatic fleet proved unequal to this, she might hold her ships in reserve in the protected harbors of Port Arthur and Vladivostok, until sufficient vessels could arrive from Europe to give her an overwhelming superiority. Meanwhile, she must remain on the defensive, strengthening her forces in Manchuria, or retreating if she saw fit, since the desolation of that province was not to her a vital matter. The inhabitants of the land were still Chinamen, not Russians.

From this general outline it will be evident with what grim anxiety the Japanese must have watched the departure of Admiral Togo's fleet. The die was cast; great Russia was defied; their very existence as a nation was to be the prize of battle.

THE EARLY NAVAL CONTESTS

Let us follow the course of the fleet which thus bore with it the fate of a nation. Passing Fusan and Masampo, it advanced up the western coast of Korea. On February 8th, a squadron under Admiral Uriu, detached from the main fleet, approached Chemulpo, the principal port of Korea, about midway up the coast of the peninsula. Chemulpo is the harbor for Seoul, and is connected with it by twenty-five miles of railway. At Chemulpo lay a powerful Russian cruiser, the Varyag, and a gunboat, the Korietz, placed there to be at the service of M. Pavloff in Seoul. That gentleman was still unaware that hostilities were begun; Japanese strategy or treachery had shut off all news from Korea. But the Korietz was despatched to Port Arthur to secure information. As she steamed out of Chemulpo, she met the Japanese approaching in battle array. She fired a gun at them—by accident, we are told—and turned back into the harbor. That was the first shot of the war.

Admiral Uriu had not come idly to Chemulpo. One main object of Japan was to secure control of Korea, which she hoped to do at the outset; and so two thousand troops accompanied her fleet. These were landed at once, without opposition from the startled Russian ships. Next day the troops were in Seoul, not to conquer it, but "to protect Japanese interests." The Russian diplomats were hurried out of the country; and the Korean Emperor, ever submissive to the power of the moment, became the obedient ally of Japan.

The commanders of the Varyag and Korietz were notified by Admiral Uriu that war existed, and that they must come out of Chemulpo and fight, or they would be attacked within the harbor. The latter plan might have led to awkward international complications, for Korea was at least nominally a neutral state, friendly to both sides. There were several foreign war-ships in Chemulpo, and the captains of these held a formal meeting to discuss what action they ought possibly to take to prevent a violation of neutral waters. In this conference the commander of the United States cruiser Vicksburg refused to have any part, thereby intensifying Russia's resentment at what she considered the pro-Japanese attitude of the American Government. No serious infraction of neutrality occurred, however, because the captain of the Varyag heroically —or foolishly, according to one's view-point—resolved to accept the Japanese challenge. Followed by the Korietz, he steamed out of the harbor to attack the entire fleet of the foe (February 9th).

The neutral war-ships cheered lustily as the brave Russians passed them. Then came a brief half hour of cannonading. It is said that the firing by both sides was wild; but if so it was less wild by the Japanese, for soon the Varyag returned to port, badly injured, and with her decks covered with dead and wounded. The Japanese ships remained unharmed. The Varyag sank in the harbor. The Korietz and also a Russian transport-vessel were then blown up by their commanders, to keep them from the enemy; and the quiet waters of Chemulpo were filled with bleeding and drowning Russian seamen. As many as possible were rescued by the boats of the neutral war-ships, a service in which the tars of the Vicksburg were as active as

any. A single brief naval encounter thus cleared Korea of the Russians and placed Japan in control of the entire country.

Meanwhile the main Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo had made an even more important stroke. During the night of February 8th, it reached Port Arthur, where the Russian ships were drawn up in battle array outside the harbor. In size and number they were little, if at all, inferior to their foe, but vivid and picturesque accounts have reached us of their lack of readiness and discipline. Port Arthur was a gay city in those days; many of the Russian naval officers were ashore that night enjoying life, each after his own fashion; and we are told that the scenes of disorder within the city when the cannonading began, beggar description. Outside the harbor the surprised and startled Russian fleet made such defence as it could. Cannon thundered on both sides, and under cover of the darkness and the noise, a flotilla of Japanese torpedo-boats stole close to the enemy and discharged their deadly missiles. There was much confusion, much wild firing, and tumult; but three at least of the torpedoes reached the mark. The two largest of Russia's battle-ships and one of her best cruisers were struck and so badly injured that more than four months elapsed before either battle-ship was again ready for use. The crippled Russian fleet drew closer under protection of the land forts, and when dawn and tide permitted, withdrew to the inner harbor. Unlike Seoul, Port Arthur was in direct telegraphic communication with the outer world; and on the morning of February 9th everybody knew of the sudden, successful attack, knew that the long threatening war-cloud had burst at last.

In these opening assaults Japan gained almost half of the essential points for which she fought. Not only was Korea in her hands, but the command of the sea was hers, at least temporarily. Before the war, Japan had six first-class modern battle-ships; the Russian Asiatic fleet had seven, which, while slightly smaller individually than the Japanese, excelled them in total tonnage. In cruisers and smaller boats, Japan had considerably the advantage; but such vessels are regarded as only auxiliary to battle-ships, against whose heavier armor and huger guns the strongest cruiser would be helpless.

It had seemed, therefore, as if the Russian ships might easily cruise along the Manchurian and Korean coasts and prevent any land invasion. If attacked, they could at worst involve the enemy with themselves in one common and awful ruin, and so leave Japan helpless before a new fleet, which could be despatched from Europe.

Now this chance was gone. It was not merely that Russia's two largest battle-ships and two of her best cruisers had been rendered useless; her moral loss was even greater. Hitherto, Europeans had swept down upon Asiatics with a proud consciousness of race superiority that took no heed of the numbers or the weapons of the foe. Again and again, in India, in China, even in the American occupation of the Philippines, this racial pride had justified itself, had made the apparently impossible possible. Now this pride had failed. The Russian naval officers could not but admit that the Japanese had manœuvred better, fired straighter, and shown equal hardihood with themselves. Russia's prestige and self-confidence were gone. The fleet within Port Arthur became a demoralized mass. For a time at least, its ships were cowed and useless. Even Admiral Togo seemed not fully to realize, or perhaps to trust, the measure of his success. He feared lest the Russian ships should again attack him. He tried to block the Port Arthur harbor, as the Americans aimed to block that of Santiago in the Spanish War, only his work was on a larger scale. Three times were fleets of stone-laden ships rushed forward and sunk in the harbor mouth, Japanese sailors, more than a hundred in number, devoting themselves to destruction with impressive heroism. But each attempt was unsuccessful; the Russian forts were too alert, the Russian gunfire had improved too much.

For two months the blockade continued, and then a new commander arrived from Russia, Admiral Makaroff, a seaman of tried courage and resource. He infused new life into the demoralized Russians. He took the offensive; repeatedly now the Russian ships appeared in the outer harbor challenging the foe. Then the new leader fell into a trap. The Japanese planted floating mines about the harbor mouth, and afterward most of their ships steamed off beyond the horizon. The Russian fleet, headed by Admiral Makaroff in his best

battle-ship, the Petropaulovsk, came out in pursuit of one small squadron. The main fleet of the foe re-advanced against him, and he turned back toward safety. Then came the catastrophe—the Petropaulovsk struck a mine, and perhaps a second one. There was a terrific explosion, a spectacular upheaval, and the gallant ship sank with all on board (April 13th).

A few survivors of the battered, mangled crew were saved, but about six hundred perished, including not only Makaroff himself, but also a man of peace, the celebrated Russian painter Verestchagin, who had gone to Asia specially to paint scenes of the war, and was a guest on the Petropaulovsk on her fatal trip. Another ship was injured at the same time, and once more the Russian fleet was reduced to a state of hopelessness and incompetency.

The losses, nevertheless, were not wholly on Russia's side. One of the six Japanese battle-ships had been sunk in the numerous bombardments of Port Arthur, though its loss was not admitted to the world by the Japanese Government until nearly a year afterward. Two cruisers collided in a fog, and one was sunk. Another battle-ship struck a mine and was destroyed, almost paralleling the Petropaulovsk disaster. The central naval strength of Japan was thus reduced one-third. Moreover, a squadron of Russian cruisers was at Vladivostok; and, when the spring opened that port, they raided the coast of Japan, destroying some valuable supply-ships, and sinking one transport, the devoted patriots on which refused to surrender and went down to death chanting the national anthem of Japan. Yet, on the whole, Japan maintained virtual mastery of the sea; the first act of the great naval drama had ended with the death of Makaroff.

LAND OPERATIONS OF 1904

Land operations now superseded, and soon dwarfed, the battles of the navies. Japan had been slow in transporting her troops to the mainland, until assured of their safety on the passage. But by degrees she occupied Korea, and by the end of April had an army of more than fifty thousand men on its

northwestern border, where the river Yalu separates it from Manchuria. There had been some Cossack raids into Korea, but as yet no determined opposition to the Japanese advance. On the other bank of the Yalu, however, the Russians were assembled in force.

To appreciate the difficulty of the general military situation from Russia's view-point, we must keep in mind that she was ill-prepared for war, and that the Manchurian coast line is five thousand miles from St. Petersburg, connected with it by only the single track of the new Siberian railway. There were perhaps a hundred thousand troops in Manchuria in February, a tremendous number when we think of each one as an individual, unwillingly separated from home and all its ties; but far too few when we consider the hundreds of miles of railroad to be defended, the Chinese brigands to be suppressed, and the far-reaching coastline on any point of which a Japanese army might descend.

In her need, Russia gave command of all her Asiatic forces to the man at the centre of affairs, her minister-of-war, a noted leader and hero of the Turkish contest of 1878, General Kuropatkin. With his full knowledge of the situation, Kuropatkin was at least superior to the folly of underestimating his foe. He recognized the Japanese as equal to the Russians, man for man, and adopted the only possible plan of campaign against an equal foe. This was, to delay the enemy's advance, to make a pretence of resisting them, to face them from behind strong intrenchments, but to avoid any general battle, and retreat slowly, until at length troops could reach him from Russia, sufficient to enable him to fight upon equal terms.

Hence a division of Kuropatkin's troops, thirty thousand in number, under General Sassulitch, was detailed to guard the passage of the Yalu, but had orders to withdraw before an attack in force. The men were strongly posted and intrenched upon high hills, where the foe dared not attack them until full preparations had been made. On April 30th the Japanese General, Kuroki, swung the vanguard of his troops across the river near the town of Wiju. He had misled the Russian general Sassulitch as to the point of attack, and so achieved the passage of the river with success. On May 1st his men

boldly stormed the Russian heights in face of a deadly fire. The timely moment for the Russian withdrawal passed unheeded. General Sassulitch was one of those blindly resolute old autocrats who still despised the Japanese. He believed his men could hold their lines against the entire army of the "little yellow men." Soon the Russians at the immediate point of attack were hopelessly outnumbered, and, despite a brave resistance, were driven into hurried retreat. Sassulitch found his entire force in danger of being surrounded and captured. Indeed, at a little town called Hamatan, two thousand were enveloped by the foe. A single hurrying Japanese company first appeared upon their line of retreat. It was attacked; but instead of fleeing, its members stood their ground in a struggle hand to hand. Most of them were slain, but the delay gave other Japanese troops time to come up, and soon their intercepting line was too strong to be broken through. Cannon began to play upon the entrapped Russians. They fought desperately but hopelessly, and only two hundred survivors surrendered in Hamatan.

In this, the battle of Wiju, or of the Yalu, the first important land fight of the war, both sides showed splendid courage; but the Japanese had a great advantage in generalship and organization, nor did the smaller size of their men seem to tell at all against them. When a man holds a straight-shooting rifle with a keen-edged bayonet, his bulk counts far less than his intellect and quickness. The loss of the Japanese was heavy in their first attack, but that of the Russians was still heavier in their confused retreat. The total of killed, wounded, and missing was about a thousand on one side, three thousand on the other.

After this severe experience, General Kuropatkin's subordinates became more obedient to his plans. Gradually, as the Japanese advanced from the Yalu and landed other armies at various points along the Manchurian coast, the Russians drew back into the interior country. A glance at the map will show that the great Siberian railway crosses Asia direct to Vladivostok, passing six hundred miles to the north of Port Arthur. A branch line from Port Arthur runs in a northerly direction across Manchuria until it strikes the main

road at a town called Harbin. It was along this branch railroad that Russian reënforcements were arriving, and hence Kuropatkin retreated along its line toward Harbin. This left Port Arthur isolated and surrounded by the Japanese; and there was some talk in Russia of abandoning the celebrated fortress without a blow. But Russian pride could not yet consent to so sweeping a confession of defeat. Moreover, the surrender of the Port would mean the surrender also of the fleet protected in its harbor. Hence as many defenders were left in the town as it could hold, forty-five thousand in all, including the ten thousand sailors of the fleet; ample provisions and ammunition were stored with them, and they were left to hold their own, until the reënforced army of Kuropatkin should return. Many military critics declared the stronghold to be impregnable.

The Russian defensive works reached to the base of the peninsula of Liaotung, at whose tip Port Arthur lies. A Japanese army under General Oku landed close to the enemy's outer lines, and on May 26th charged them full in face. This daring assault or battle of Nanshan, as it has been called, impressed the world even more than the crossing of the Yalu. Japanese bravery and devotion were most amazingly displayed. The troops here hurled themselves against well-defended, permanent fortifications, protected by mines and rifle-pits and those cruel inventions of modern warfare, tangled masses of barbed-wire fence. After a whole day of deadly fighting, a Japanese division succeeded in wading through the shallow waters along shore and taking the enemy in flank. The Russians were then slowly driven back, despite desperate resistance. The loss of the Japanese was more than four thousand men, that of the Russians perhaps half as great.

The result of this battle was, that the defenders of Port Arthur were shut up within the immediate fortifications surrounding the town itself. Half way up the peninsula, they had built a beautiful city, Dalny, intended to be the capital of Russia in the East. This now fell into the hands of the triumphant foe, though it was destroyed as far as possible by the retreating Russians. After this splendid success, General Oku and his troops were despatched northward to join General

Kuroki in the advance against the main army of Kuropatkin. Another army sent from Japan under command of General Nogi was left to besiege Port Arthur. This army was nearly a hundred thousand strong.

Meanwhile the Russian Government had been awaking to the real magnitude of the war, and had been making most energetic and admirable efforts to strengthen its forces. Through all the month of May thousands of fresh troops had been reaching Kuropatkin; and there was now a very general demand in Russia that he should return to the relief of Port Arthur. Perhaps it was in deference to popular clamor that he despatched a force of thirty-five thousand men under General Stackelberg to break a way through the Japanese into the besieged fortress. Stackelberg's troops were met by the largely superior forces of General Oku in the battle of Telissu (June 14th), and not only was his advance checked, but his army was routed and put to utter flight with the loss of perhaps a fourth of its entire number. The Japanese official report of their own loss puts it at less than a thousand. They had simply to stand their ground and pour their artillery fire against the mass of charging Russians, until the assailants were fairly swept from the tragic field.

After this grim fatality, the fortress was left to its own defence. There were months of slow advance by the Japanese, endless digging of trenches and embankments, mines and countermines—a war of engineers. Every foot of the advance was paid for by being drenched with blood. By the end of July, so far advanced were General Nogi's preparations that he ordered a general assault upon the outlying Russian works, and succeeded in capturing a height known as "Wolf Mountain." From this his heavy guns could throw their shells into Port Arthur harbor, and thus on August 10th the warships that lay there were driven to make another sortie.

Their orders, we are told, came direct from the Emperor himself. They were to break through the opposing fleet and make their way to Vladivostok or whatever place they could reach. Under no circumstances must they return to the harbor they were leaving. Five battle-ships and what few were left of the lesser vessels took part in this last dash. They were

met vigorously by Admiral Togo, and were so bombarded and battered that, after hours of a resistance growing ever feebler, the badly damaged battle-ships returned to Port Arthur. The lesser vessels scattered, and scurried in all directions to escape. Some were sunk; others succeeded in reaching neutral harbors in China, where they were dismantled till the war should end. The battle-ships were dismantled in Port Arthur, their guns added to the defences there, and their hulks sunk or shattered by Nogi's fire. One, the Sevastopol, was torpedoed in a daring attack by Admiral Togo's boats.

Despite these successes, the Japanese leaders, by the middle of August, began to feel their situation growing dangerous. Three Japanese armies—under General Kuroki, the hero of the Yalu; General Oku, the stormer of Nanshan; and a third commander, General Nodzu—were moving slowly northward, pressing back Kuropatkin in skirmishes and battles; but so rapidly were Russian reënforcements arriving that the armies against which the Japanese advanced began to outnumber their own. Meanwhile the progress against Port Arthur was slow and hideously costly. General Nogi determined to make one desperate effort to carry the fortress by storm, so that his army might join the others against Kuropatkin.

This tremendous assault, one of the most splendid and reckless in history, lasted day after day from August 19th to 24th. Whole columns of the Japanese were blown up by mines or swept away by shells. The defence was as resolute and as well conducted as the attack; and at last, after sacrificing fifteen thousand of his heroes, Nogi abandoned his efforts in despair. He himself had lost one son in the earlier operations, a second fell in this assault, and he had still a third. "They should delay the funeral ceremony," said the father sadly, "until they could include us others in it also." Seeing how many of his countrymen he had led to death, his fixed desire was to give his own life also to his country. Once more he settled back to the slow operations and advances of the siege, the war of engineers.

Field-Marshal Oyama, head of all the Japanese armies, had by this time taken active command of the combined forces against Kuropatkin. Since no help could now be expected from Nogi, Oyama must do his best with the three armies

already in the field. To wait would only be to have the foe grow stronger. Hence, immediately following the failure of Nogi's assault, came the great battle of Liaoyang, the first general contest between the entire body of the two main armies.

To understand the series of gigantic battles between Kuropatkin and Oyama we must have a general idea of the region in which the strife was waged. On a map of Manchuria appear several nearly parallel lines drawn from north to south, or somewhat southwest. The most easterly of these is the broad Yalu River, separating Manchuria from Korea. Then comes a line of mountains, which at the southern end stretch out into the Chinese Sea, forming the hilly peninsula at whose tip lies Port Arthur. West of the mountains comes the line of the railway running north to Harbin; and west of this again flows the Liao River. The region between the mountains and the Liao is the heart of Manchuria, in which the fighting was to be. Eastward, as we approach the mountains, the land is high and hilly; westward it sinks down into vast, flat plains; and from east to west, from the mountains to the Liao, flow good-sized tributary rivers, fertilizing all the land. The most southerly of these rivers, intersecting the line of the railroad two hundred miles north of Port Arthur, is the Taitse; and where river and rail meet is the town of Liaoyang.

Liaoyang, the provincial capital of southern Manchuria, had in time of peace been an important town of sixty thousand inhabitants, but was now almost deserted by the Chinese, and had become the head-quarters of Russia's retreating forces. Its situation, from a military standpoint, is naturally strong; not only is the Taitse River so deep as to be unfordable, but the town lies at the edge of the mountainous region, surrounded by easily fortifiable hills, which to the east rise rapidly toward greater heights. Moreover, the natural defences had been strengthened by artificial works of every description, upon which Russian engineers had labored ever since the beginning of the war.

It is probable that more than two hundred thousand men on each side were engaged in the attack upon Liaoyang, thus making it, numerically, at least, a battle as vast as any in modern history. It was no sudden, sweeping victory won in a few

fierce hours of maddest energy, but lasted, as Nogi's assault had done, day after day, from August 25th to September 4th. In vain did the Japanese make desperate assaults upon the strongly intrenched Russian front. At length, on August 31st, Kuroki, whose army lay farthest east of the Japanese, made a bold move among the hills, turning the enemy's flank with a portion of his force, and threatening to seize the railroad in their rear. Up to this time the Russians had the better of the contest; but physically and mentally they seemed even more exhausted than their opponents. A determined assault might have crushed Kuroki's relatively thin and feeble line. But Kuropatkin was uncertain of its strength; one division sent against it was ambushed and almost destroyed; and the Russian leader determined to retreat once more. This he did in good order and without serious loss. The Japanese were too exhausted to pursue. Each side had fought to the limit of human endurance.

The losses in this great battle were about twenty thousand on either side. In its outcome it was indecisive. Kuropatkin lost his defensive works at Liaoyang; but his army remained intact, and his reënforcements were still arriving. Both sides now realized more fully how gigantic must be their struggle. By utmost effort Russia could barely hold her own. On the other hand, there were to be no more easy victories for Japan, like the Yalu and Telissu. Marshal Oyama desisted from his advance. It was too costly. In his turn he demanded reënforcements.

Twenty-five miles north of Liaoyang the railroad crosses the Sha-Ho or Sha River. On the opposite banks of this the two armies intrenched themselves and lay like exhausted wrestlers, each watching the other and acknowledging the other's power, each waiting for increase of strength. Despite the distance from St. Petersburg, the Russian reënforcements arrived the earlier; for Russia is the larger country and she had not yet drawn nearly so deeply on her resources as Japan. By October, Kuropatkin must have had nearly three hundred thousand men, and he published a much-quoted order to his soldiers, proclaiming that Russia had at last gathered her strength, that the retreating movement was at an end, and

that, advancing in his turn, he would sweep the Japanese into the sea.

On October 9th he assailed the enemy along the entire line, in the second huge battle of the war, known as that of Sha River. Like that of Liaoyang, this contest continued more than a week. There were four days of Russian attack, maintained despite losses the most enormous the war had yet recorded. Then Kuropatkin, repulsed at every point, withdrew in despair. The Japanese followed him with vigorous counter-attacks, hoping to disorganize his army and perhaps destroy it completely. But, as before at Liaoyang, the Russians proved their ability to make a retreat without its degenerating into a flight. They fell back fighting. There was one hill on the bank of the Sha River that was repeatedly taken and retaken. It is known to-day as Putiloff Hill, because, on the last day of the struggle, Putiloff, the Russian commander in charge there, surprised an entire Japanese brigade, surrounded and almost exterminated it. This was the one noteworthy aggressive success gained by the Russians in the entire war.

Not until October 17th had the last of Kuropatkin's defeated troops retreated to the river. The total losses in this obstinate combat have been rated by some authorities as high as a hundred thousand men, almost a fourth of those engaged. Three quarters of this enormous loss fell upon the Russians, and their widely heralded advance was frustrated at its beginning. Their frontal attack had proved even more costly and far less successful than that of the Japanese at Liaoyang. Kuropatkin with his exhausted troops fell back another twenty miles to the Hun River, the next of the streams tributary to the Liao. His head-quarters were on the railway at Mukden, the ancient capital of the Chinese emperors. There he placed his men in winter quarters, and the equally outworn foe were content to imitate his example.

The winters of inland Manchuria are very severe. The temperature falls many degrees below zero, and human life, even under favorable conditions, is seriously threatened. Military operations become almost an impossibility. Kuropatkin, therefore, felt temporarily secure within his icebound







In the batteries at Port Arthur
The end of the siege
Painting by George Scott



lines, and thought to hold them until spring, meanwhile repeating his former call for further reënforcements. Russia, exerting all her enormous vigor, declared she would have half a million men upon the fighting line when the campaign should reopen in 1905. Japan, with her smaller population but easier access to the seat of war, was equally determined, and made similar extraordinary efforts to increase her armies.

Only around Port Arthur did active operations continue through the winter. At the close of November, after another series of desperate assaults, Nogi's troops captured "203 Metre Hill," an eminence from which their cannon commanded the entire harbor and much of the town itself. Under the stress of this bombardment, Port Arthur weakened at last. On New Year's day of 1905 its commandant, General Stoessel, surrendered. He and more than thirty thousand followers, including the wounded and the sailors, became prisoners of war. Port Arthur, with the hulks of its once powerful fleet and all its supplies, fell prizes to the indomitable persistence of Japan.

To the Emperor, Stoessel sent a noble telegram: "Great Emperor, forgive. We have done all that was humanly possible." For a time this assertion was accepted as true, and Stoessel was glorified as a hero. But soon comments of another tone began to appear. The amount of supplies surrendered had been enormous; the men taken prisoners were nearly three-quarters of the original garrison; the chief fortifications were still intact. Surely, it was said, Port Arthur might have continued its defence for yet a little longer. By degrees Stoessel fell from his pedestal. We are told now that he took no active part in the siege, that the true leader of the troops in all their stubborn and marvellous resistance was his chief-of-staff, General Kondrachenko. Kondrachenko perished in the November assault, and the soul of the garrison fell with him. Stoessel had only become active as a negotiator of surrender.

The loss of one popular hero, however, from among so many, need scarcely be deplored. The siege of Port Arthur ranks among the most stupendous military operations of history. The defence of the garrison, up to Kondrachenko's death, had been skilfully conducted and

obstinate in the extreme. As for the Japanese, seventy-five thousand fell before the fortress finally surrendered. At the word of command whole regiments hurled themselves upon mines and battlements in blind self-sacrifice. Never has anything been seen to exceed their amazing devotion to country, their unshaken courage, and utter scorn of death.

THE LAST GREAT CONTESTS

With the fall of Port Arthur and the beginning of 1905 we approach the third stage of the war. Japan had accomplished all she set out to achieve. Korea was hers, and the control of the Asiatic seas. The Russians had been driven out of southern Manchuria and defeated at every point. It remained now for the victors to conquer peace.

The veterans of General Nogi's army, or rather what remained of them, hurried north to join their brothers against Kuropatkin. The Russian chiefs, anticipating this, endeavored to forestall it by an unexpected counter-attack in midwinter. Under cover of night, and in the midst of a fierce snowstorm which beat into the faces of the foe, a Russian army, under General Gripenberg, suddenly attacked the west end of the widely extended Japanese army line, and captured the town of Heikautai (January 25th). The Japanese hastily rallied to the threatened point, but on both sides the battle was fought against the elements rather than against a human foe. The thermometer fell to twenty degrees below zero; a terrific, icy storm-wind raged across the unprotected fields. Men froze to icicles where they stood, in the pauses of the strife. For three days did this grim and awful battle of Heikautai continue, despite all Nature's power. Then it became evident that the surprise had failed, that the Japanese were equal even to this supreme test of endurance; and the attack was abandoned. It had cost more than ten thousand lives on either side.

Considering the severity of the winter, spring comes early in Manchuria; and Marshal Oyama now decided to make a general attack before the rivers, over which he must operate, should thaw out and become impassable. So on February 23d

he began the three-weeks' struggle that constituted the battle of Mukden, the last huge land-fight of the war, the most gigantic clash of arms the world has ever seen, exceeding even the greatest of ancient conflicts, probably, in the number of warriors engaged, and certainly far outclassing all others in the death-dealing power of the weapons used.

General Kuropatkin at this time had probably more than four hundred thousand fighting men at his command, while the forces under Marshal Oyama were nearly half a million. The latter were now divided into five armies. On the extreme eastward of the line, in the mountains, were the wholly new forces just arrived from Japan under General Kawamura. Next to them came Kuroki's veterans, who had been advancing along this line ever since the crossing of the Yalu. Then came Nodzu's army in the centre; then Oku's; and on the extreme left or westward were Nogi's reënforcements, though the alignment of this last army was unknown to the Russians. Indeed, they thought it lay to the east, and that the foe were trying to encircle them from that side. The attack began at the east. Kawamura and Kuroki drove back the forces opposed to them, and General Kuropatkin, believing the advancing force to be even more powerful than it was, sent troops from his western wing to reënforce the east.

Gradually as the days went by, the roar of battle spread westward. Three thousand cannon shook the earth with such an uproar as man had never made before. Nodzu and Oku both engaged in terrific frontal attacks. Then came the final enveloping movement from the west. Nogi's army, speeding forward by forced marches, advanced almost unopposed and finally reached the railway twenty miles northward of Mukden, in Kuropatkin's rear. At the same time the troops of Kawamura and Kuroki closed in from the east; their scouts met those of Nogi. On March 9th Kuropatkin telegraphed to St. Petersburg that his forces were surrounded. Destruction seemed inevitable.

With indomitable courage, however, the Russian troops maintained themselves along the railway line. That single avenue of retreat was kept open; and beside its track, or scattered through the mountain defiles, the troops fled northward, still

resisting, still struggling. The Japanese poured a steady rain of fire upon the retreat, and again and again they charged down upon the marching columns, hoping to cut them off and force them back upon Mukden.

Of that gigantic Russian army of four hundred thousand men, little more than half did finally escape. About fifty thousand surrendered; more than a hundred thousand fell in the battle and retreat. Nor was the victory without its cost to Japan; the loss to her troops probably reached sixty thousand. The total losses on both sides exceeded two hundred thousand men, an army larger than the entire forces engaged at the greatest of American battles, Gettysburg. The figures are so vast they become almost meaningless.

In the moment of this downfall of his last hopes, Kuropatkin resigned his command, and the generalship over the defeated remnant of the Russian army was assigned to General Linievitch, the subordinate commander who had been most successful in rescuing his troops from the general disaster. Kuropatkin nobly exchanged places with his former lieutenant and remained upon the field to give his country such service as he could in a minor rank.

Linievitch, with stubborn persistence, gathered and realigned his men far northward, in the vicinity of Harbin. He could still make a show of resistance. But for a time at least the Japanese refused to be drawn farther into the arctic wilds. They awaited the foe's next effort at advance.

One more hope remained to the Russian Government, if hope it was. Slowly and with much procrastination all the available war-ships in European waters had been gathered into what was called the "Baltic fleet." The first division of this powerful force, which, at least on paper, was stronger than Japan's entire navy, sailed from the Baltic in October, 1904, under Admiral Rojestvensky on its remarkable voyage half around the world to meet its foe. The ships, however, were ill-prepared, and even in autocratic Russia there were voices of protest against despatching them in such condition, toward what must prove inevitable destruction. So it was in somewhat dubious mood that the fleet began its voyage. Off the English coast it fired upon some British fishing-smacks,

believing them to be Japanese torpedo-boats. Off Madagascar it lingered for months in French harbors, and reënforcements were despatched to join it. At length, after many tedious delays, the united fleet reached Japanese waters in May, 1905. It appeared to be bound for Vladivostok, there to be refitted and rearranged after its long, trying voyage. But the Japanese were in waiting. Their swift scout-ships had reported the progress of the foe; and when Rojestvensky attempted to pass the strait between Korea and Japan, the full force of Admiral Togo's fleet met him in battle (May 27th).

In this, the greatest naval conflict of modern times, the Japanese had four battle-ships. The Russians had eight, but these were older and feebler than those of the foe; and in cruisers, torpedo-boats, and other lesser craft Togo had the advantage. He was also successful in manœuvring for position. The Russians apparently expected to be attacked from the east, from Japan, and advanced in two columns, all their stronger ships on the supposed side of danger. But Togo came upon them from the west, from Korea, and so, meeting the feebler column first, seriously damaged it before attacking the heavier ships. The main cause of victory seems to have been the superior effectiveness of the Japanese gunfire; though Admiral Togo's official report attributes all his success to the virtues of the Japanese Emperor and of that gentleman's beneficent ancestors.

The first hour of the contest decided its issue. After that the Russian ships, badly damaged, lost formation, became huddled together, fired wildly, and then scattered in flight. The swifter Japanese vessels pursued them relentlessly hither and thither across the seas. Two battle-ships surrendered, the others were sunk. Of the lesser vessels, six escaped to neutral ports and were there dismantled, five were captured, and sixteen destroyed. Admiral Rojestvensky was carried, badly wounded, from the sinking wreck of his flagship to a torpedo-destroyer, and on board this smaller vessel was surrendered as a prisoner. Of all the mighty fleet, only two fugitive vessels reached their destination, Vladivostok. Never was naval victory more complete and overwhelming.

Russia, thus defeated and temporarily helpless on both

land and sea, made no overtures toward peace. Her distance from the seat of war, which before had so hampered her, now proved her salvation. She sat silent in her distant cities, where no blow could reach her. She strained every nerve to create fresh armies; and Linievitch was again reënforced. Japan, however, wisely refused to destroy herself as Napoleon had done, by advancing into the fastnesses of the North. Instead, she bethought herself of her ancient possession, the arctic island of Saghalien, wrested from her in her days of weakness by the same foe. A force was sent to take possession of Saghalien, and overran it almost without opposition. Then came a pause of inertia.

THE RETURN OF PEACE

The monstrous spectacle of suffering soldiery and starving peasants had begun to rouse a pitying cry from all the outside world. Sorrow and shame for our common human nature revolted against the awful holocaust of human lives. The United States, as the nation farthest removed from the scene of strife, could most easily intervene without suspicion of self-interest, and President Roosevelt appealed to both sides to make peace. Under his auspices was arranged a conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, between the Russian envoys, M. Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen, and the Japanese, Baron Komura and Mr. Kogoro Takahira. At first there seemed little chance that the conferrees could agree on terms of settlement. Japan insisted on the attitude of a conqueror. Not only did she demand the points she had fought for—Port Arthur and the Russian withdrawal from Manchuria and Korea—but she asked also for Saghalien, for a huge money indemnity, and for restrictions to be placed upon the naval force Russia might ever assemble in the East. M. Witte, on his side, maintained that Russia was undefeated. She had but engaged in a frontier contest, and had met temporary reverses which left her main strength unimpaired, and for which, if the war continued, she would exact a fearful vengeance. The Russian Government might yield on the original matter of dispute, but these new demands were humiliations,

calling for confessions of defeat to which she would never consent.

For a time the conference was at a standstill. Agreement between these widely diverging views seemed hopeless. But President Roosevelt again lent his aid to the discussion; he pleaded with the envoys, and finally he appealed to the two emperors themselves. Nicholas of Russia offered to give up half of Saghalien, as it had once belonged to Japan. Mutsuhito of Japan then suddenly bade his envoys to yield all the other disputed points. From the Russian official standpoint, this means that Japan confessed herself too much exhausted to continue the gigantic conflict. The Japanese say that in the interests of humanity, of Russia's suffering peasantry, as well as their own, they resolved, and could afford, to be magnanimous. The preliminary peace treaty was signed at Portsmouth, August 29, 1905. One more enormous and momentous war had become in its turn a matter of the past.

Stated in briefest and most obvious form the results of the war appear to be: First, several most valuable military and naval lessons have been supplied for the study of future generals and the guidance of future statecraft. Second, the evil and incompetence of the Russian autocratic Government has been most startlingly emphasized, and Russia has been plunged into a series of internal revolutions, the ultimate results of which lie still beyond our vision. Third, Japan has been accepted among the powers of the earth, ranking perhaps with Italy or Austria, though not, of course, with England or Russia; for it must be kept always in mind that Russia fought under the enormous disadvantage of having to exert herself thousands of miles away from the centre of her strength. Fourth, and most important of all, a check has been given to the mighty onrush of Caucasian dominion over the earth. This war constitutes the only military success of a non-Aryan as against an Aryan people in modern times. This has perhaps changed the fate of all the Asiatic races, though only later generations can know whether Japanese intellect, patriotism, and indifference to death are indeed to constitute a lasting barrier against the hitherto hardly disputed supremacy of the Aryans.

LEO TOLSTOY

As always has been, and is, the case, in regard to all defeats, so also now people attempt to explain the defeat of the Russians by the bad organization of the Russian military department, by the abuses and blunders of the commanders, and so forth. But this is not the chief point. The reason of the successes of the Japanese is not so much in the bad government of Russia, nor in the bad organization of the Russian Army, as in the great positive superiority of the Japanese in the military art. Japan has conquered not because the Russians are weak, but because Japan is at the present time perhaps the most powerful State in the world, both on land and on sea; and this is so, first, because all those technical scientific improvements which once gave predominance in strife to Christian nations over un-Christian have been assimilated by the Japanese—owing to their practical capacities and the importance they attach to the military art—much more successfully than by the Christian nations; secondly, because the Japanese are by nature braver and more indifferent to death than the Christian nations are at present; thirdly, because the warlike patriotism utterly incompatible with Christianity which has been with so much effort inculcated by Christian Governments among their peoples, is yet extant in all its untouched power among the Japanese; fourthly, because servilely submitting to the despotic authority of the deified Mikado, the strength of the Japanese is more concentrated and unified than the strength of those nations who have outlived their servile submission. In a word, the Japanese have had and have got an enormous advantage, in that they are not Christians.

However distorted Christianity may be among Christian nations, it yet, however vaguely, lives in their consciousness, and men are Christians. At all events the best among them can not devote all their mental powers to the invention and preparation of weapons of murder; can not fail to regard martial patriotism more or less indifferently; can not, like the Japanese, cut open their stomachs merely that they may avoid surrendering themselves as prisoners to the foe; can not blow themselves up into the air together with the enemy

as used previously to be the case. They no longer value the military virtues and military heroism as much as formerly; they respect less and less the military class; they can no longer without consciousness of insult to human dignity servilely submit to authority; and above all they, or at least the majority of them, can no longer commit murder with indifference.

In all times, even in peaceful activities inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, Christian nations could not compete with non-Christian. So it was, and continues to be, in the monetary strife with non-Christians. However badly and fallaciously Christianity may be interpreted, the Christian recognizes (and the more so the more he is a Christian) that wealth is not the highest good and, therefore, he can not devote to it all his powers, as does he who has no ideals higher than wealth, or who regards wealth as a divine blessing. The same in the sphere of non-Christian science and art; in these spheres, both of positive experimental science and of art which places pleasure as its aim, the precedence has belonged, does, and always must belong to the least Christian individuals and nations. What we see in the manifestation of peaceful activity was bound to exist all the more in that activity of war which is directly repudiated by true Christianity. It is this inevitable advantage in the military art of non-Christian over Christian nations which, given equal means of military science, has been so unmistakably demonstrated in the brilliant victory of the Japanese over the Russians.

And it is in this inevitable and necessary superiority of non-Christian nations that lies the enormous significance of the Japanese victory.

The significance of the victory of the Japanese consists in this: that this victory has shown in the most obvious way not only to vanquished Russia, but also to the whole Christian world, all the futility of the external culture of which Christian nations were so proud; it has proved that this external culture which appeared to them to be some kind of a specially important result of the age-long efforts of Christendom is something very unimportant and so insignificant that the Japanese nation, distinguished by no specially superior spiritual qual-

ities, when it needed this culture could in a few decades assimilate all the scientific wisdom of the Christian nations, inclusive of bacteria and explosives, and could so well adapt this wisdom to practical purposes that in its adaptation to the military art, and in the military art itself—so highly valued by Christian nations—it could surpass all these nations.

For ages the Christian nations, under the pretext of self-defense, have competed in inventing the most effectual methods of destroying each other (methods immediately adopted by all their opponents), and they have made use of these methods both for the intimidation of each other and for the acquirement of every kind of advantage over uncivilized nations in Africa and Asia. And lo! among the non-Christian nations there appears one warlike, adroit, and imitative which, having seen the danger threatening it together with other non-Christian nations, with extraordinary facility and celerity assimilated all which military superiority had given Christian nations, and became stronger than they, having understood the simple truth that if you are beaten with a stout and strong club you have to take a similar or still thicker and stronger club, and with it strike the one who strikes you. The Japanese very quickly and easily assimilated this wisdom, and at the same time all this military science, and possessing besides all the advantages of religious despotism and patriotism, they have manifested military power which has proved stronger than the most powerful military State. The victory of the Japanese over the Russians has shown all the military States that military power is no longer in their hands, but has passed, or is soon bound to pass, into other un-Christian hands, since it is not difficult for other non-Christian nations in Asia and Africa, being oppressed by Christians, to follow the example of Japan, and having assimilated the military technics of which we are so proud, not only to free themselves, but to wipe off all the Christian States from the face of the earth.

Therefore, by the issue of this war, Christian Governments are in the most obvious way brought to the necessity of still further strengthening those military preparations, whose cost has already crushed their people, and while doubling their

armaments still foresee that in time the pagan nations oppressed by them will, like the Japanese, acquire the military art and throw off their yoke and avenge themselves on them, no longer by words but by bitter experience. This war has confirmed, not only for Russians, but also for all Christian nations, the simple truth that coercion can lead to nothing but the increase of calamities and suffering.

This victory has shown that, occupying themselves with the increase of their military power, Christian nations have been doing not only an evil and immoral work, but a work opposed to the Christian spirit which lives in them—a work in which they, as Christian nations, must always be excelled and beaten by non-Christian nations. This victory has shown the Christian nations that all to which their Governments directed their activity has been ruinous to them, and an unnecessary exhaustion of their strength, and above all the raising up for themselves of more powerful foes among non-Christian nations. This war has proved in the most obvious way that the power of Christian nations can in no wise lie in military power contrary to the Christian spirit, and that if the Christian nations wish to remain Christians, their effort should be directed not at all to military power, but to something different: to such an organization of life which, flowing from the Christian teaching, will give to men the greatest welfare, not by means of rude violence, but by means of rational cooperation and love.

In this lies the great significance for the Christian world of the victory of the Japanese.

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

"RED SUNDAY" AND THE CONSTITUTION

A.D. 1905

PRINCE PETER KROPOTKIN
COUNT ARTHUR CASSINI

On October 30, 1905, the Czar of Russia abandoned his ancient autocratic power and granted to his people a constitution. This proclamation was issued after almost a year of revolutionary tumult, the tragic progress of which is here depicted by the noted Russian patriot and exile, Prince Kropotkin. Many enthusiasts believed that the granting of the Constitution was going to transform the Russians immediately into a self-governing people. But revolutions have never thus accomplished themselves at a single step. The "Duma," or national assembly, elected under this Constitution soon found itself in dispute with the Czar, and was forcibly dismissed. Many of its members were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia. All open revolt was crushed out in blood. More than seventy thousand of the Russian people were slain by the armed forces of the Government in a single year; and retaliatory "terrorists" murdered more than four thousand policemen, attacking them one by one in night and solitude.

After that other and more submissive Dumas were selected. Thus the amount of constitutional power granted to the Russian people seems as yet very slight. Yet it is a beginning, a reform that can not turn backward; and future generations of free Russians will doubtless point back to 1905 as marking the first step in the triumph of the people over the aristocracy.

Naturally so desperate and deadly a struggle has its other side. Official Russia assumes that all the tremendous upheaval of the masses is but the crime of a few wicked individuals playing upon the ignorance of the masses. That the reader may judge for himself, we balance against the fervid outpouring of Kropotkin the words of Count Cassini, who was Russia's ambassador to the United States in 1905 and who published in one of our magazines, *The World To-day*, the official viewpoint which he asked our nation to accept with regard to "Red Sunday," the opening event of the revolt.

PRINCE KROPOTKIN

EVENTS in Russia are following one another with that rapidity which is characteristic of revolutionary periods. On the 10th of August, 1904, the omnipotent Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, was killed by the revolutionary Socialist,

Sazonoff. Plehve had undertaken to maintain autocracy for another ten years, provided that he and his police were invested with unlimited powers; and having received these powers, he had used them so as to make of the police the most demoralized and dangerous body in the State. In order to crush all opposition, he had not recoiled from deporting at least 30,000 persons to remote corners of the Empire by mere administrative orders. He was spending immense sums of money for his own protection, and when he drove in the streets, surrounded by crowds of policemen and detective bicyclists and automobilists, he was the best-guarded man in Russia—better guarded than even the Czar. But all that proved to be of no avail. The system of police rule was defeated, and nobody in the Czar's surroundings would attempt to continue it. For six weeks the post of Minister of the Interior remained vacant, and then Nicholas the Second reluctantly agreed to accept Sviatopolk Mirsky, with the understanding that he would allow the little local assemblies, or zemstvos, to work out some transitional form between autocracy pure and simple and autocracy mitigated by some sort of national representation. This was done by the zemstvos at their congress in November of last year, when they dared to demand "the guaranty of the individual and the inviolability of the private dwelling," "the local autonomy of self-administration," and "a close intercourse between the Government and the nation," by means of a specially elected body of representatives of the nation who would "participate in the legislative power, the establishment of the budget, and the control of the Administration."

Modest though this declaration was, it became the signal for a general agitation. True, the press was forbidden to discuss it, but all the papers, as well as the municipal councils, the scientific societies, and all sorts of private groups discussed it nevertheless. Then, in December last, the "intellectuals" organized themselves into vast unions of engineers, lawyers, chemists, teachers, and so on—all federated in a general Union of Unions. And amid this agitation, the timid resolutions of the zemstvos were soon outdistanced. A constituent assembly, elected by universal, direct, and secret

suffrage, became the watchword of all the constitutional meetings.

The students were the first to carry these resolutions in the street, and they organized imposing manifestations in support of these demands at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and in all the university towns. At Moscow the Grand Duke Sergius ordered the troops to fire at the absolutely peaceful demonstration. Many were killed, and from that day he became a doomed man.

Things would have probably dragged if the St. Petersburg working men had not at this moment lent their powerful support to the young movement—entirely changing by their move the very face of events. To prevent by any means the "intellectuals" from carrying on their propaganda amid the working men and the peasants had been the constant preoccupation of the Russian Government; while, on the other side, to join hands with the workers and the peasants and to spread among them the ideas of Freedom and Socialism had always been the goal of the revolutionary youth for the last forty years—since 1861. Life itself worked on their side. The labor movement played so prominent a part in the life of Europe during the last half-century, and it so much occupied the attention of all the European press, that the infiltration of its ideas into Russia could not be prevented by repression. The great strikes of 1896–1900 at St. Petersburg and in central Russia, the growth of the labor organizations in Poland, and the admirable success of the Jewish labor organization, the *Bund*, in western and southwestern Russia, proved, indeed, that the Russian working men had joined hands in their aspirations with their Western brothers.

Father Gapon succeeded in grouping in a few months a considerable mass of the St. Petersburg workers round all sorts of lecturing institutes, tea restaurants, cooperative societies, and the like; and he, with a few working-men friends, organized within that mass and linked together several thousands of men inspired by higher purposes. They succeeded so well in their underground work that when they suggested to the working men that they should go *en masse* to the Czar, and unroll before him a petition asking for constitutional guar-

anties as well as for some economical changes, nearly 70,000 men took in two days the oath to join the demonstration, although it had become nearly certain that the demonstration would be repulsed by force of arms. They more than kept their word, as they came out in still greater numbers—about 200,000—and persisted in approaching the Winter Palace notwithstanding the firing of the troops.

This led to the tragedy of "Red Sunday," or Vladimir Sunday. It is now known how the Emperor himself, concealed at Tsarskoe Selo, gave orders to receive the demonstrators with volley-firing; how the capital was divided for that purpose into military districts, each one having at a given spot its staff, its field telephones, its ambulances. The troops fired at the dense crowds at a range of a few dozen yards, and no fewer than from 2,000 to 3,000 men, women, and children fell the victims of the Czar's fears and obstinacy.

The feeling of horror with which eye-witnesses, Russian and English, speak of this massacre surpasses description. Even time will not erase these horrible scenes from the memories of those who saw them, just as the horrors of a shipwreck remain engraved forever in the memory of a rescued passenger. What Gapon said immediately after the massacre about "the viper's brood" of the whole dynasty was echoed all over Russia, and went as far as the valleys of Manchuria. The whole character of the movement was changed at once by this massacre. All illusions were dissipated. As the autocrat and his supporters had not shrunk from that wanton, fiendish, and cowardly slaughtering, it was evident that they would stop at no violence and no treachery. From that day the name of the Romanoff dynasty began to become odious among the working men in Russia. The illusion of a benevolent autocrat who was going to listen paternally to the demands of his subjects was gone forever.

Distrust of everything that might come from the Romanoffs took its place; and the idea of a democratic republic, which formerly was adopted by a few Socialists only, now found its way even into the relatively moderate programs. To let the people think that they might be received by the Czar, to lure them to the Winter Palace, and there to mow them down

by volleys of rifle-fire—such crimes are never pardoned in history.

If the intention of Nicholas the Second and his advisers had been to terrorize the working classes, the effect of the January slaughter was entirely in the opposite direction. It gave a new force to the labor movement all over Russia. Five days after the terrible "Vladimir" Sunday, a mass-strike broke out at Warsaw, and was followed by mass-strikes at Lodz and in all the industrial and mining centers of Poland. In a day or two the Warsaw strike was joined by 100,000 operatives and became general. All factories were closed, no tramways were running, no papers were published. The students joined the movement, and were followed by the pupils of the secondary schools. The shop assistants, the clerks in the banks and in all public and private commercial establishments, the waiters in the restaurants—all gradually came out to support the strikers. Lodz joined Warsaw, and two days later the strike spread over the mining district of Dombrowo. An eight-hour day, increased wages, political liberties, and Home Rule, with a Polish Diet sitting at Warsaw, were the demands of all the strikers. We thus find in these Polish strikes all the characteristics which, later on, made of the general strikes of October last so powerful a weapon against the crumbling autocratic system.

If the rulers of Russia had had the slightest comprehension of what was going on, they would have perceived at once that a new factor of such potency had made its appearance in the movement, in the shape of a strike in which all classes of the population joined hands, that nothing remained but to yield to their demands; otherwise the whole fabric of the State would be shattered down to its deepest foundations. But they remained as deaf to the teachings of modern European life as they had been to the lessons of history; and when the strikers appeared in the streets, organizing imposing manifestations, they knew of no better expedient than to send the order: "Shoot them!" In a couple of days more than 300 men and women were shot in Warsaw, 100 at Lodz, forty-three at Sosnowice, forty-two at Ostrowiec, and so on, all over Poland!

The result of these new massacres was that all classes of society drew closer together in order to face the common enemy, and swore to fight till victory should be gained. Since that time governors of provinces, officers of the police, gendarmes, spies, and the like have been killed in all parts of Poland. In very few cases were the assailants arrested. As a rule they disappeared—the whole population evidently helping to conceal them.

In the meantime the peasant uprisings, which had already begun a couple of years before, were continuing all over Russia, showing, as is usually the case with peasant uprisings, a recrudescence at the beginning of the winter and a falling off at the time when the crops have to be taken in. They now took serious proportions in the Baltic provinces, in Poland and Lithuania, in the central provinces of Tchernigov, Orel, Kursk, and Tula, on the middle Volga, and especially in western Transcaucasia. There were weeks when the Russian papers would record every day from ten to twenty cases of peasant uprisings. In all these uprisings the peasants display a most wonderful unity of action, a striking calmness, and remarkable organizing capacities. In most cases their demands are even very moderate. They begin by holding a solemn assembly of the *mir* (village community); then they ask the priest to sing a *Te Deum* for the success of the enterprise; they elect as their delegates the wealthiest men of the village; and they proceed with their carts to the landlord's grain stores. There they take exactly what they need for keeping alive till the next crop, or they take the necessary fuel from the landlord's wood, and if no resistance has been offered they take nothing else, and return to their houses in the same orderly way; or else they come to the landlord, and signify to him that unless he agrees to rent all his land to the village community at such a price—usually a fair price—nobody will be allowed to rent his land or work for him as a hired laborer, and that the best he can do is therefore to leave the village. In other places, if the landlord has been a good neighbor, they offer to buy all his land on the responsibility of the commune, for the price which land, sold in a lump, can fetch in that neighborhood; or alternatively they offer such a

yearly rent; or, if he intends to cultivate the land himself, they are ready to work at a fair price, slightly above the now current prices. But rack-renting, renting to middlemen, or renting to other villages in order to force his nearest neighbors to work at lower wages—all this must be given up forever.

As to the Caucasus, the peasants of Guria (western portion of Georgia) proceeded even in a more radical way. They refused to work for the landlords, sent away all the authorities, and, nominating their own judges, they organized such independent village communities, embodying a whole territory, as the old cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden represented for several centuries in succession.

All these facts point in one direction. Rural Russia will *not* be pacified so long as some substantial move has not been made in the sense of land nationalization. The theoricians of the mercantile school of economists may discuss this question with no end of argument, coming to no solution at all; but the peasants are evidently decided *not* to wait any more. They see that the landlords not only do not introduce improved systems of culture on the lands which they own, but simply take advantage of the small size of the peasant allotments and the heavy taxes which the peasants have to pay, for imposing rack-rents, and very often the additional burden of a middleman, who sublets the land. And they seem to have made up their minds all over Russia in this way: "Let the Government pay the landlords, if it be necessary, but *we* must have the land. We shall get out of it, under improved culture, much more than is obtained now by absentee landlords, whose main income is derived from the civil and military service."

The peasant uprisings alone, spreading over wide territories, rolling as waves which flood to-day one part of the country and to-morrow another, would have been sufficient to entirely upset the usual course of affairs in Russia. But when the peasant insurrection is combined with a general awakening of the working men in towns, who refuse to remain in the old servile conditions; when all the educated classes enter into an open revolt against the old system; and when important portions of the Empire, such as Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus, strive for complete Home Rule, while other

portions, such as Siberia, the Baltic provinces, and Little Russia, and, in fact, every province, claim autonomy and want to be freed from the St. Petersburg bureaucrats—then it becomes evident that the time has come for a deep, complete revision of all the institutions. Every reasoning observer, every one who has learned something in his life about the psychology of nations, would conclude that if any concessions are to be made to the new spirit of the time, they must be made with an open mind, in a straightforward way, with a deep sense of responsibility for what is done—not as a concession enforced by the conditions of a given moment, but as a quite conscious reasoned move, dictated by a comprehension of the historical phase which the country is going through.

Unfortunately, nothing of that consciousness and sense of responsibility is seen among those who have been the rulers of Russia during the last twelve months. I have told in my memoirs how certain moderate concessions, if they had been granted toward the end of the reign of Alexander the Second or at the advent of his son, would have been hailed with enthusiasm, and would have paved the way for the gradual and slow passage from absolutism to representative government. Even in 1895, when Nicholas the Second had become Emperor, it was not too late for such concessions. But it was also evident to every one who was not blinded by that artificial atmosphere of bureaucracy created in all capitals that ten years later such half-hearted concessions as a "Consultative Assembly" were already out of question. The January massacres widened that chasm still more. Therefore only an open recognition of the right of the nation to frame its own constitution, and a complete, *honest* amnesty, granted as a pledge of good faith, could have spared to Russia all the bloodshed of the recent years. Every intelligent statesman would have understood it. But the cynical courtier, Boulyghin, whom Nicholas the Second and his mother considered a statesman, and to whom they had pinned their faith, was not the man to do so. His only policy was to win time, in the hope that something might turn the scales in favor of his masters.

Consequently, vague promises were made in December, 1904, and next in March, 1905, but in the meantime the most

reckless repression was resorted to—not openly, but under cover, according to the methods of Von Plehve's policy. Death sentences were distributed by the dozen during the summer. The worst forms of police autocracy, which characterized the rule of Plehve, were revived in a form even more exasperating than before, because governors-general assumed now the rights which formerly were vested in the Minister of the Interior. Thus, to give one instance, the Governor-General of Odessa exiled men by the dozen by his own will, including the old ex-Dean of the Odessa University, Professor Yaroshenko, whom he ordered to be transported to Vologda! And this went on at a time when all Russia began to take fire, and lived through such a series of events as the uprising of the Mussulmans and the massacres at Baku and Nakhichevan; the uprising at Odessa, during which all the buildings in the port were burned; the mutiny on the ironclad *Knyaz Potemkin;* the second series of strikes in Poland, again followed by massacres at Lodz, Warsaw, and all other chief industrial centers; a series of uprisings at Riga, culminating in the great street battles of the 28th of July—to say nothing of a regular, uninterrupted succession of minor agrarian revolts. All Russia had thus to be set into open revolt, blood had to run freely in the streets of all the large cities, simply because the Czar did not want to pronounce the word which would put an end to his sham autocracy and to the autocracy of his camarilla. Only toward the end of the summer could he be induced to make some concessions which at last took the shape of a convocation of a State's Duma, announced in the manifesto of the 19th of August.

General stupefaction and disdain are the only words to express the impression produced by this manifesto. To begin with, it was evident to any one who knew something of human psychology that no assembly elected to represent the people could be maintained as a merely *consultative* body, with no legislative powers. To impose such a limitation was to create the very conditions for producing the bitterest conflicts between the Crown and the nation. To imagine that the Duma, if it ever could come into existence in the form under which it was conceived by the advisers of Nicholas the Second, would

limit itself to the functions of a merely consulting board, that it would express its wishes in the form of mere *advices*, but not in the form of *laws*, and that it would not defend these laws as such, was absurd on the very face of it. Therefore the concession was considered as a mere desire to bluff, to win time. It was received as a new proof of the insincerity of Nicholas the Second.

But in proportion as the real sense of the Boulyghin "Constitution" was discovered, it became more and more evident that such a Duma would never come together; never would the Russians be induced to perform the farce of the Duma elections under the Boulyghin system. It appeared that under this system the city of St. Petersburg, with its population of nearly 1,500,000 and its immense wealth, would have only about 7,000 electors, and that large cities having from 200,000 to 700,000 inhabitants would have an electoral body composed of but a couple of thousand, or even a few hundred electors; while the 90,000,000 peasants would be boiled down, after several successive elections, to a few thousand men electing a few deputies. As to the nearly 4,000,000 of Russian working men, they were totally excluded from any participation in the political life of the country. It was evident that only fanatics of electioneering could be induced to find interest in so senseless a waste of time as an electoral campaign under such conditions. Moreover, as the press continued to be gagged, the state of siege was maintained, and the governors of the different provinces continued to rule as absolute satraps, exiling whom they disliked, public opinion in Russia gradually came to the idea that, whatever some moderate zemstvoists might say in favor of a compromise, the Duma would never come together.

Then it was that the working men again threw the weight of their will into the contest and gave quite a new turn to the movement. A strike of bakers broke out at Moscow in October, and they were joined in their strike by the printers. This was not the work of any revolutionary organization. It was entirely a working men's affair, but suddenly what was meant to be a simple manifestation of economical discontent grew up, invaded all trades, spread to St. Petersburg, then all over

Russia, and took the character of such an imposing revolutionary manifestation that autocracy had to capitulate before it.

When the strike of the bakers began, troops were, as a matter of course, called out to suppress it. But this time the Moscow working men had had enough of massacres. They offered an armed resistance to the Cossacks. Some three hundred men barricaded themselves in a garret, and a regular fight between the besieged working men and the besieging Cossacks followed. The latter took, of course, the upper hand, and butchered the besieged, but then all the Moscow working men joined hands with the strikers. A general strike was declared. "Nonsense! A general strike is impossible!" the wiseacres said, even then. But the working men set earnestly to stop all work in the great city, and fully succeeded. In a few days the strike became general. What the working men must have suffered during these two or three weeks, when all work was suspended and provisions became extremely scarce, one can easily imagine; but they held out. Moscow had no bread, no meat coming in, no light in the streets. All traffic on the railways had been stopped, and the mountains of provisions which, in the usual course of life, reach the great city every day were lying rotting along the railway lines. No newspapers, except the proclamation of the strike committees, appeared. Thousands upon thousands of passengers who had come to that great railway center which Moscow is could not move any farther, and were camping at the railway stations. Tons and tons of letters accumulated at the post-offices, and had to be stored in special storehouses. But the strike, far from abating, was spreading all over Russia. Once the heart of Russia, Moscow, had struck, all the other towns followed. St. Petersburg soon joined the strike, and the working men displayed the most admirable organizing capacities. Then, gradually, the enthusiasm and devotion of the poorest class of society won over the other classes. The shop assistants, the clerks, the teachers, the employees at the banks, the actors, the lawyers, the chemists, nay, even the judges, gradually joined the strikers. A whole country had struck against its Government; all but the troops; but even from the troops sep-

arate officers and soldiers came to take part in the strike meetings, and one saw uniforms in the crowds of peaceful demonstrators who managed to display a wonderful skill in avoiding all conflict with the army.

In a few days the strike had spread over all the main cities of the Empire, including Poland and Finland. Moscow had no water, Warsaw no fuel; provisions ran short everywhere; the cities, great and small, remained plunged in complete darkness. No smoking factories, no railways running, no tramways, no Stock Exchange, no banking, no theaters, no law courts, no schools. In many places the restaurants, too, were closed, the waiters having left, or else the workers compelled the owners to extinguish all lights after seven o'clock. In Finland, even the house servants were not allowed to work before seven in the morning or after seven in the evening. All life in the towns had come to a standstill. And what exasperated the rulers most was that the workers offered no opportunity for shooting at them and reestablishing "order" by massacres. A new weapon, more terrible than street warfare, had thus been tested and proved to work admirably.

The panic in the Czar's entourage had reached a high pitch. He himself, in the meantime, was consulting in turn the Conservatives (Ignatieff, Goremykin, Stürmer, Stishinsky), who advised him to concede nothing, and Witte, who represented the Liberal opinion; and it is said that if he yielded to the advice of the latter, it was only when he saw that the Conservatives refused to risk their reputations, and maybe their lives, in order to save autocracy. He finally signed, on October 30th, a manifesto, in which he declared that his "inflexible will" was—

"(1) To grant the population the immutable foundations of civic liberty based on real inviolability of the person and freedom of conscience, speech, union, and association.

"(2) Without deferring the elections to the State Duma already ordered, to call to participation in the Duma, as far as is possible in view of the shortness of the time before the Duma is to assemble, those classes of the population now completely deprived of electoral rights, leaving the

ultimate development of the principle of the electoral right in general to the newly established legislative order of things.

"(3) To establish it as an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the State Duma, and that it shall be possible for the elected of the people to exercise a real participation in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the authorities appointed by us."

On the same day Count Witte was nominated the head of a Ministry, which he himself had to form, and the Czar approved by his signature a memorandum of the Minister-President in which it was said that "straightforwardness and sincerity in the confirmation of civil liberty," "a tendency toward the abolition of exclusive laws," and "the avoidance of repressive measures in respect to proceedings which do not openly menace society and the State" must be binding for the guidance of the Ministry. The Government was also "to abstain from any interference in the elections to the Duma," and "not resist its decisions as long as they are not inconsistent with the historic greatness of Russia."

This first victory of the Russian nation over autocracy was met with the wildest enthusiasm and jubilations. Crowds, composed of hundreds of thousands of men and women of all classes, all mixed together, and carrying countless red flags, moved about in the streets of the capitals, and the same enthusiasm rapidly spread to the provinces, down to the smallest towns. True that it was not jubilation only; the crowd expressed also three definite demands. For three days after the publication of the manifesto in which autocracy had abdicated its powers, no amnesty manifesto had yet appeared, and on the 3d of November, at St. Petersburg, a crowd 100,000 men strong, was going to storm the House of Detention, when, at ten in the evening, one of the Workmen's Council of Delegates addressed them, declaring that Witte had just given his word of honor that a general amnesty would be granted that same night. The delegate therefore said: "Spare your blood for graver occasions. At eleven we shall have Witte's reply, and if it is not satisfactory, then to-morrow at six you will all be informed as to how and where to meet in the streets

for further action." And the immense crowd—I hold these details from an eye-witness—slowly broke up and dispersed in silence, thus recognizing the new power—the Labor Delegates—which was born during the strike.

Two other important points, besides amnesty, had also to be cleared up. During the last few months the Cossacks had proved to be the most abominable instrument of reaction, always ready to whip, shoot, or bayonet unarmed crowds, for the mere fun of the sport and with a view to subsequent pillage. Besides, there was no guaranty whatever that at any moment the demonstrators would not be attacked and slaughtered by the troops. The people in the streets demanded, therefore, the withdrawal of the troops, and especially of the Cossacks, the abolition of the state of siege, and the creation of popular militia which would be placed under the management of the municipalities.

It is known how, at Odessa first, and then all over Russia, the jubilant crowds began to be attacked by bands, composed chiefly of butcher assistants, and partly of the poorest slum-dwellers, sometimes armed, and very often under the leadership of policemen and police officials in plain clothes; how every attempt on behalf of the Radical demonstrators to resist such attacks by means of revolver-shots immediately provoked volleys of rifle fire from the Cossacks; how peaceful demonstrators were slaughtered by the soldiers, after some isolated pistol-shot—maybe a police signal—was fired from the crowd; and how, finally, at Odessa an organized pillage and the slaughter of men, women, and children in some of the poorest Jewish suburbs took place, while the troops fired at the improvised militia of students who tried to prevent the massacres, or to put an end to them. At Moscow, the editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, Gringmuth, and part of the clergy, stimulated by a pastoral letter of Bishop Nikon, openly preached "to put down the intellectuals by force," and improvised orators spoke from the platform in front of the Iberia Virgin, preaching the killing of the students. The result was that the University was besieged by crowds of the "defenders of order," the students were fired at by the Cossacks, and for several nights in succession isolated students were assailed in the dark by the

Moscow Gazette men, so that in one single night twenty-one were killed or mortally wounded.

An organizing hand is seen in these outbreaks, and there is no doubt that this is the hand of the Monarchist party. It sent a deputation to Peterhof, headed by Prince Scherbatoff and Count Sheremetieff, and after the deputation had been most sympathetically received by Nicholas the Second, they openly came forward in the *Moscow Gazette* and in the appeals of the bishops Nikon and Nikander, calling upon their sympathizers to declare an open war on the Radicals.

Of course it would be unwise to imagine that autocracy, and the autocratic habits which made a little Czar of every police official in his own sphere, would die out without showing resistance by all means, including murder. The Russian revolution will certainly have its Feuillants and its Muscadins. And this struggle will necessarily be complicated in Russia by race-hatred. It has always been the policy of the Russian Czardom to stir national hatred, setting the Finns and the Karelian peasants against the Swedes in Finland, the Letts against the Germans in the Baltic provinces, the Polish peasants (partly Ukraïnian) against the Polish landlords, the Orthodox Russians against the Jews, the Mussulmans against the Armenians, and so on. Then, for the last twenty years it has been a notable feature of the policy of Ignatieff, and later on of Plehve, to provoke race-wars with a view of checking Socialist propaganda. And the police in Russia have always taken advantage of all such outbreaks for pilfering and plundering. . . . Consequently, a few hints from above were enough—and several reactionary papers and two bishops went so far as to *openly* give such hints—to provoke the terrible massacres at Odessa, and the smaller outbreaks elsewhere.

Happily enough, there is a more hopeful side to the Russian revolution. The two forces which hitherto have played the leading part in the revolution—namely, the working men in the towns fraternizing with the younger "intellectuals," and the peasants in the country—have displayed such a wonderful unanimity of action, even where it was not concerted beforehand, and such a reluctance from useless bloodshed, that we may be sure of their ultimate victory. The troops have

already been deeply impressed by the unanimity, the self-sacrifice, and the consciousness of their rights displayed by the workmen in their strikes; and now that the St. Petersburg workmen have begun to approach in a spirit of straightforward propaganda those who were enrolled in the "Black Gangs," that other support of autocracy will probably soon be dissolved as well. The main danger lies now in that the statesmen, enamored of "order" and instigated by timorous landlords, might resort to massacres for repressing the peasant rebellions, in which case retaliation would follow to an extent and with consequences which nobody could foretell.

The first year of the Russian revolution proved that there is in the Russian people that unity of thought without which no serious change in the political organization of the country would have been possible, and that capacity for united action which is the necessary condition of success. One may already be sure that the present movement will be victorious. The years of disturbance will pass, and Russia will come out of them a new nation; a nation owning an unfathomed wealth of natural resources, and capable of utilizing them; ready to seek the ways for utilizing them in the best interest of all; a nation averse to bloodshed, averse to war, and ready to march toward the higher goals of progress. One of her worst inheritances from a dark past, autocracy, lies already mortally wounded, and will not revive; and other victories will follow.

COUNT CASSINI

In the beginning of 1904, according to the petition presented by the workmen of several factories and workshops of St. Petersburg, there was established the charter of the St. Petersburg Society of Workmen of Factories and Workshops, the establishment of which was authorized for the purpose of allowing the workmen to make use of their leisure hours in a more useful way as regards religious and intellectual enlightenment. Having this purpose in view, in compliance with the petition of the organizers of the society, the chaplain of the St. Petersburg prison, George Gapon, was instituted president of the above-mentioned society. Beginning his activity by holding religious meetings in the various branch insti-

tutions of the society, Gapon and his assistants, some of the workmen who were the organizers of the society, gradually merged into deliberating at their meetings upon the condition of workmen in various factories and workshops of the capital, and endeavoring to influence the owners in misunderstandings arising between these latter and their employees.

In December, 1904, this society took a prominent part in opposing the dismissal from the Putilov Works of four workmen, members of their society, considering this dismissal as a desire on the part of the administration of these works to get rid of men belonging to their association. Although it was found out later that two of the dismissed workmen had left the works according to their own desire, and that the third had been dismissed for staying voluntarily away, the Putilov section of the society, headed by Gapon, considering the dismissal of the four workmen from the standpoint of personal feeling, succeeded in influencing the majority of the workmen of the Putilov Works, and the works were stopped entirely on January 2, 1905.[1]

Taking advantage of the general strike, the workmen placed before the administration of the factory not only the demand that the dismissed workmen be reinstated in their positions and that one of the head workmen, suspected of having been instrumental in the dismissal of these persons, be dismissed, but also the demand that the mode of appreciation of the work done and that of the dismissal of the workmen be changed, insisting upon such right of agitation by members of this section of the above-named society among the workmen as would result in the section's being given the right of control over the actions of the administration of the works. Persuasion on the part of the inspection of the works remained fruitless, and soon, under the influence of the agitation spread by the numerous sections of the society among the manufacturing districts of St. Petersburg, the strike spread through the greater part of the manufacturing establishments of the capital, first as a means of supporting the demands of the Putilov workmen, and later, taking advantage of the occasion,

[1] That is, January 15th. The dates used by Count Cassini are Russian Old Style and are thirteen days later than the New Style used in America.

with the purpose of obtaining from the owners some private privileges.

How far the above-mentioned movement of the working classes, which first arose exclusively on the principle of comradeship and solidarity, not brought about by any special complications in economical conditions, was in the beginning from any political coloring and the influence of secret revolutionary societies, is best demonstrated by the fact that at the time attempts made by revolutionists to use the meetings as a means of agitation in the direction desired by them, suffered a complete defeat, and the agitators that penetrated into the assemblies of workmen were often exposed to blows on the part of the workmen and were invariably cast out of their midst. But as the strike grew, the demands of the workmen became more extensive, and, from the desire of seeing local needs complied with, grew into the laying down of one general program in the name of all the strikers to the owners, demanding the curtailing of the working day, the taking part by the workmen in the administration of the factories, etc. Such demands, in a written form composed by Gapon, were distributed among the workmen and still more strengthened the strikers in their opposition to possible undertakings in isolated cases. The owners of works on which strikes had occurred came to the conclusion at one of their meetings that the compliance with some of the demands of the strikers would bring about the complete ruin of the national industry, while others could be investigated and partly granted, but only on the condition of separate consents for each case and not as a compliance with the demand of the whole mass of strikers. The workmen refused such an examination of their demands, asking for a general understanding with the plenipotentiaries named by the organization of the strikers. As, notwithstanding the obstinacy of the strikers, public order had nowhere in the capital been violated, and there were no data showing the participation in the strike of secret antigovernmental organizations, no measures of repression were taken by the authorities and no arrests took place among the workmen.

In the meanwhile Gapon, entering into relations with the

heads of the local revolutionary groups, who desired to take advantage of the strike for their own purposes and give it the character of a general protest of the working classes against the existing mode of government, gradually began to introduce at the meetings into the program of the demands of the workmen corrections of a political character, and having consecutively introduced general constitutional principles, ended the program by demanding the separation of the Church from the government, a measure which is in absolute contradiction of the historical spirit of the religious creed of the Russian people and could in no way have been consciously dictated by the workmen. The same agitation was undertaken by the revolutionary leaders, who now were allowed in the meetings by the workmen, in view of the protection shown by the workmen to the revolutionists standing with Gapon at the head of the Society of Workmen of Factories and Workshops.

Having gone so far, Gapon, influenced by political agitators, was forced to end this movement by some extreme act, and, instigated by the agitators, began to instil among the workmen the idea of presenting publicly to the Emperor a petition from the workmen expressing their needs. Such a sermon on the part of Gapon in the midst of workmen, the majority of whom, like the whole Russian people, have a deep faith in their Czar and his constant care for the subjects entrusted to him by the Almighty, could not but be crowned with success, and really awoke among the strikers a general desire to go, on January 9th, in a mass to the square of the Winter Palace and to present to His Majesty in person, through Gapon and delegates, a petition on the general needs of the working classes. The faith in the possibility of presenting the petition in such manner was strengthened still more by the belief in the minds of the workmen that Gapon was not in their eyes a casual secret agitator, but a priest, acting as the president of a legally instituted society.

At the time the authorities were sufficiently acquainted with the fact that the leaders of the antigovernmental organizations existing in the capital had the intention of taking advantage of the sentiment of the workmen and their massing on the Winter Palace square for a series of antigovernmental

demonstrations making the demand of an alteration in the existing mode of government, for the purpose of giving the character of a popular manifestation to the absolutely peaceful movement of the workmen. They further knew that the mass of the workmen were ignorant of the political demands introduced into their petition, and falsely believed that to His Majesty would be presented merely a petition for the satisfaction of some of the needs of the working classes. The accomplishment of such intentions could in no way be allowed, and consequently the inhabitants of the capital were warned in time to keep order in the streets, and that all assemblies and processions having demonstrations in view would be dispersed by military force. The arrest of Gapon was ordered then under the plea of his being a political agitator, yet it could not be put into execution, for as soon as he entered into relations with the secret political agitators, he appeared no more at the public meetings of the society and began to hide in the lodgings of the workmen in the distant suburbs of the city. Only on the eve of the day appointed for the meeting on the Winter Palace square, January 8th, did he make known the text of the petition of the workmen to His Majesty, into which, in addition to the wish of improvement of their economical conditions, were introduced impudent demands of a political character. This petition remained unknown to the greater part of the strikers, and thus the working population was deliberately deceived as to the true purpose of the assembly on the Winter Palace square.

The fanatical sermon delivered by Gapon, who had entirely forgotten his priestly dignity, and the criminal propaganda of his assistants belonging to the local revolutionary groups, excited the working population to such an extent that on January 9th enormous masses of people began to direct their course from all the suburbs of the city toward its center. And at the time that Gapon, continuing to influence the religious sentiment and loyalty of the people to their sovereign, previous to the beginning of the procession held religious service in the chapel of the Putilov Works for the welfare of their Majesties and distributed to the leaders icons, holy banners, and portraits of the sovereigns so as to give the dem-

onstration the character of a religious procession, at the other end of the city a small group of workmen, led by true revolutionists, was erecting a barricade of telegraph-posts and wire and hoisted a red flag over it. Such a spectacle was so foreign to the general sentiment of the workmen that from the enormous crowd going toward the center of the city were heard the words: "These are not our people, this does not concern us. These are students who are rioting."

Notwithstanding this the crowds, electrified by the agitation, did not give way to the general police measures and even at the attacks of the cavalry. Excited by the opposition they met with, they began to attack the military forces, endeavoring to break through to the Winter Palace square, so that it was found necessary for the purpose of dispersing the crowds to use firearms, avoiding, as far as possible, making useless victims. This latter measure explains the comparatively small losses experienced by the enormous mass of people marching to the Winter Palace square. The military forces were obliged to shoot on the Schlusselburg Road, at the Narva Gate, near the Tritzky Bridge, on Fourth Street and the Little Perspective of the St. Basil Island, near the Alexander Garden, at the corner of the Nevsky Perspective and the Gogol Street, near the Police Bridge and on the Kasan Square. As has already been said, the crowd had erected a barricade, surmounted by a red flag, on Fourth Street on St. Basil Island, and two more barricades were constructed in this rayon, these latter constructed of boards, and an attack was made against the Second Police Station of the St. Basil district, the building having been destroyed; also attempts were made to interrupt telegraphic and telephonic communication. Shots were fired against the mob from the houses in the neighborhood of the police station, the mob likewise raiding the side-arm factory of Shaff, the crowd trying to arm themselves with the blades found in the factory, which, however, were taken away from them. At the time that, thanks to the vicinity of several higher educational establishments, the disorders on St. Basil's Island took the character of a political demonstration, on the St. Petersburg side, nest of the capital's

rowdies, the riot culminated in the devastation and robbing of five shops.

The total number of victims who suffered in the collision with the armed force, according to information received from the hospitals, was 96 killed and 333 wounded, from among whom 32 have died so far (including a police officer killed and assistant police master who died of wounds received).

The measures taken on January 10th for the maintenance of order, similar to those taken on January 9th, were not put into execution and the attempt of rowdies to sack the Gostinnoy Dvor was quenched without the aid of the military forces. Toward evening of that day the workmen of the electric stations joined in the strike, on account of which fact, taking advantage of the darkness reigning in some parts of the city, the same rowdies endeavored to break the windows of stores, but order was quickly restored by ordinary police measures. Beginning with January 11th, the city had again its usual aspect and the military details were discharged.

On January 14th the workmen of the Admiralty Works at Ijora, in the Kolpino district, who had struck at the same time as the others, petitioned the St. Petersburg and Ldoga Metropolitan, expressing their deep regret and contrition for having joined in the strike, avowing that only "on account of their benightedness they had allowed persons absolutely foreign to them to express political aspirations in their name," begging the Rt. Rev. Anthony to lay at the feet of His Majesty the expression of their most loyal sentiments and the belief that only His Majesty "our Father will arrange everything for the general welfare."

THE SCIENTIFIC CREATION OF NEW FORMS OF LIFE

THE TRANSFORMING OF THE WORLD OF PLANTS BY LUTHER BURBANK

A.D. 1905

GARRETT P. SERVISS

DAVID STARR JORDAN

The first clear public recognition of the remarkable work of Luther Burbank came in 1905, when the Carnegie Institution, in recognition of what he had already accomplished, gave him a large annual fund with which to carry his experiments further and on a broader scale.

Since then Mr. Burbank has gone on from one step to another in his creation of new forms of vegetable life. He has made for us many different fruits and vegetables and flowers; and has shown us that by the judicious intervention of man, Nature can be made almost as plastic as art itself. Mr. Burbank started without a scientific training, and so European botanists were slow to admit the value of his work; but now even the most renowned of them visit Burbank's California farm to learn from him. The final estimate of the learned world upon Burbank's work is here expressed by a scholar of international repute, President Jordan, of Leland Stanford University. A popular account of what the work means to ordinary men is first given by the widely known scientific writer, Garrett P. Serviss.

GARRETT P. SERVISS [1]

"BEHOLD I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of a tree bearing seed."

And to man, at the same time, was *dominion* assured over every living thing which is upon the earth.

Why, then, should anybody marvel at the achievements of Luther Burbank? If we do marvel, it is because we have not comprehended the real meaning nor the extent of the

[1] Reprinted by permission from a more extended narrative in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine.*

control over the life of this globe which is the birthright of humanity.

After a visit in California to Mr. Burbank's wonder-gardens—as people persist in deeming them—and after intimate talks with their master, who has no use or time for mere curiosity-seekers, the only marvel that I can see is the fact that man should have been so tardy in beginning to direct the infinite life-forces placed at his command. The Burbank experiments prove that the plant-world is plastic to human touch, and that we may shape it at our will. We hold a master hand in the game of evolution. We need not go on generation after generation eating the same fruits with the same flavors, smelling the same fragrances, admiring the same flowers with the same colors arrayed in the same order; we need not forever make our bread from the same grains grown under the same conditions that have limited tillage and husbandry in the past; there is no fiat compelling us to dwell as long as our race shall endure under the same rooftrees; the face of the landscape may be made a mirror of the human mind, not simply in the alternation of cultivated fields and woodlands, and the artificial arrangement of nature's forms, but in the character of the forms themselves. The shapes shall be of our choosing, and the colors, the perfumes, and the flavors shall reflect our preferences.

An almost religious reverence has hitherto hedged about the conception of "species." The old idea was that species were fixed from the beginning by special act of the Creator; Darwinism taught us that species arose only through slow ages of change by the gradual process of natural selection accumulating its effects for thousands and even millions of years; but Luther Burbank shows that *man* can produce species and do it in a dozen summers!

All this was implied in the declaration of the Hebrew writer concerning the gift of dominion to Adam, but how slow we have been to understand it! Now, however, the proof lies open in those Californian gardens.

It has been averred that these experiments have upset cherished scientific doctrines, but it would be more correct to say that they have flowed all around certain conceptions of

formal science, leaving them like islands in the stream, and thus revealing their inadequacy and the partial character of such truth as they do contain.

Let us see what Mr. Burbank has actually done. But first a few words about the man himself, for he is certainly one of the most remarkable men living. In straightforward simplicity of character he excels all the distinguished men I have ever met. In that simplicity is the evidence of rare power. Only a man of that kind can get close to nature, and in his closeness to nature lies his whole secret. He does not create, but he guides nature in creating. According to the testimony of the men of science who have visited him—and many of the most famous have lately made that pilgrimage—his insight into the latent forces and tendencies of plant-life is truly marvelous, amounting to genius of a high and unique order. In this work of producing new plants, as in every other form of human endeavor, it is the personality of the worker that is of the first importance. Having shattered a plant by "hybridization" into a myriad of variant forms, he runs his eye over the multitudinous product, in which the individuals are as different as the faces in a crowd, and with amazing quickness and sureness of judgment picks out a few, a very few—sometimes but a single one from among thousands—and decrees that these only shall live and have an opportunity to propagate their kind, while all the others go to the brush-heap! Horticulturists with a lifetime of experience find themselves unable to imitate, or even to understand, this swift intuition. It is what has given to Mr. Burbank the popular reputation of a scientific "wizard," at which he is good-naturedly amused. When he made his famous "white blackberry," he selected just one plant out of the sixty-five thousand which sprang from the crossings! Anybody can cross plants and get variations, but it is the subsequent selection that forms the test. An army alone is not sufficient to win a victory, there must be also the discriminating and directing eye of a Cæsar or a Napoleon. The power of insight has been given to few as fully as it has been given to Luther Burbank, and therein lies the explanation of the strange fact that he, in half a human lifetime, has done more to change the forms of plant-life than all the farmers,

gardeners, horticulturists, florists, and savants since the beginning of history.

And now what, precisely, are the feats of Luther Burbank, about which all the world is vaguely talking? He is giving to mankind new plants, new fruits, new flowers, new trees, *such as have never been known before.* Some of these, it is true, are only varieties, akin to those that everybody has seen in gardens and cultivated fields—for in a timid, half-hearted way man has long been imparting a faint impress of his ideas to the plant world. But the more remarkable ones are so different from any preexisting forms that they can only be described as new creations. Some of them bridge the supposed impassable chasms between species and between genera, and in every way they indicate that there is practically no limit to the number and variety of new plant-forms that can be produced by artificial crossing and selection.

Take, for instance, the "plumcot"; its name hints at its ancestry, for it is the offspring of the plum and the apricot. It is absolutely a new kind of fruit. The very flavor and taste of it have hitherto been unknown to the human palate. When I visited Mr. Burbank's experimental farm at Sebastopol, near Santa Rosa, toward the end of May last, there were rows of trees hanging full of green plumcots, but, unfortunately for my desire to taste this new fruit, in this new garden of Eden, the plumcot does not ripen until July. So I could only admire it amid its rich covering of foliage, and feast my eyes upon the spectacle of trees gleaming with showers of fruit whose kind nature did not know until the genius of man summoned it into being! It is only four years since the first plumcot turned its downy cheek to the sun, and brought into the world a new pleasure for gourmands, but already it promises to be the progenitor of a distinguished line of descendants as varied among themselves as any family of fruits already known. Not only in their flavor, but in the color of their pulp—now white, now pink, now red, now yellow—and in their way of bearing their pits, plumcots differ in variety, as apples and other of nature's own fruits differ. This last phrase should not, however, lead any one to suppose that the plumcot is, in any sense, an unnatural product. Mr. Burbank did not *create* the tendencies

that gave birth to it; he simply *discovered* and *guided* those tendencies, and, while nature might never spontaneously have turned them in the direction which he chose, yet, once set in motion, nature's forces flowed in the new course as freely as would a stream whose accustomed channel had been dammed up and another way opened for its waters. How Mr. Burbank accomplishes these things I shall endeavor to explain a little later.

Another surprising product of this kind is the "primus" berry. There is an unfortunate artificiality about this name which is apt to give the reader the impression that the fruit described by it is merely a horticultural variety, instead of being what it actually is, a new and distinct species of berry, as fit to stand in a rank by itself on account of individuality of flavor and habit as is the raspberry or the blackberry. In fact, though differing from them both, the primus berry is the result of a cross between a raspberry from Siberia and a blackberry, or dewberry, from California. It stands on the records, with scientific recognition, as the first fixed species of the rubus tribe ever artificially produced. Yet not long ago there was a dictum, much repeated in scientific circles, to the effect that it is impossible for man to produce new species. And that is not the only highly respected dictum that has gone the same way. True science, however, preserves its credit by promptly discarding exploded theories and loyally accepting established facts. Such facts are the plumcot and the primus berry.

The result of a cross between different species is usually spoken of as a hybrid. Mr. Burbank has many flourishing hybrids, some of them far more beautiful and more useful than either of the species from whose hidden stores of undeveloped tendencies and latent life-forces they were brought forth. He has in this manner created two new species of walnuts, each of which, in its own way, may bring about a revolution in the world of trees. One of these is the "paradox" walnut (pity, again, that such a name should have been necessary), whose first wonderful feature is the swiftness of its growth. It has been pronounced to be the fastest-growing tree in the temperate zone. There is a row of these trees bordering the walk in front of Mr. Burbank's home, some of which, in thirteen or

fourteen years, have developed trunks *two feet in diameter*, while their broad-spreading tops cast around them the shadows of giants.

Yet, contrary to what is almost invariably found with fast-growing trees, these great walnuts are remarkable for the hardness and durability of their wood! This has been compared to lignum vitæ for solidity, while it possesses a most beautiful color, and is in every respect suitable and excellent for cabinet-making and for building timber. This new kind of tree is capable itself of developing improved varieties without losing its distinctive characteristics, and Mr. Burbank anticipates that it will give rise to many novel cabinet woods, and will add immensely to the timber wealth of the country after it shall have been widely introduced and cultivated.

Now, note a most significant thing: the paradox walnut is not much of a nut-bearer, but its half-brother, the "royal" walnut, loads itself with amazing crops of large, sweet nuts. Both have the same mother, the native Californian black walnut, but the father of the paradox was the English walnut, and that of the royal the Eastern black walnut. The first exhibited at the beginning surprising vegetative energy, and was urged in the direction of growth at the expense of the reproductive power; the second showed great reproductive power, and was specially developed along that line. The consequence is that two new kinds of walnut-trees have been brought into existence, one of which offers the world an immense addition to its supply of valuable timber and beautiful cabinet wood, while the other is a food-producer, yielding nuts increased four or five times in size and enormously in number.

There appears to be no detail in the life and growth of plants that is beyond the reach of human interference and that can not be made to follow the dictates of man's wishes. Once in a while Mr. Burbank discovers that he has gone too far, and that there is a wisdom garnered from ages of experience in some of nature's arrangements which can not be violated with impunity. If nuts had thinner shells, for instance, it would be possible to dispense with nut-crackers. Accordingly Mr. Burbank once bred the shells of English walnuts so

thin that they were easily broken. This proved a great boon to the birds, and they quickly got all the nuts, for they were up first in the morning and had to waste no time in climbing or shaking trees. So the process was reversed and the nuts were bred back again into the protection of thick shells. A similar thing happened when Mr. Burbank bred the prickly husks off chestnuts. He found that that kind of chestnuts would only answer for a birdless land, and he had to put the burrs on again. Nature has spent countless thousands of years in bringing about some of these adjustments of conditions to environment, which man can upset in a season or two if he finds it to his advantage to do so.

But the reader may naturally ask: "How can Mr. Burbank, or any other human being, cause nuts to thicken or thin their shells at his bidding?"

The answer sounds somewhat paradoxical: "He can do it because the world is so very old and so very full of life."

In the eons of its past existence the kingdom of plants has stored up innumerable impressions derived from its ever-changing environments. These impressions have produced hereditary tendencies (tendencies toward their own perpetuation) the greater number of which remain latent, and at present invisible, like photographic negatives not yet dipped into the developing-tray. There is not room enough in the whole world for all to manifest themselves simultaneously. If they were all materialized at once, a thousand earths would not suffice to hold the countless forms that are locked up, unseen, in plants. Only those are visible about us which have found favoring circumstances, and which upon the whole are best fitted for their present environments. But the latent tendencies, though held back, are not destroyed or obliterated. They are like so many memories stamped upon the brain, covered up under a flood of later impressions, apparently forgotten, yet ready, when the mystic chord is touched, to spring into vivid prominence. Thus it happens that through some change of environment, of food, soil, or climate, a concealed hereditary tendency, the sleeping memory of some former state of existence, awakes in a plant, and what the gardener or the horticulturist calls a "sport" is produced. The plant

affected becomes like a black sheep in a snowy flock. It has heard a far-off ancestral voice and started backward at the call.

Now, ordinarily, these natural sports and variations are short-lived. There is no room or place for them in the existing order of things; they are not armed to engage in the struggle for existence; they are not "fitted" to survive; the favoring circumstance that brought them forth was but a flitting gleam, and with its departure they are left unsupported.

Yet here intelligence sees its opportunity to interfere. Man can govern the environment for the plant. He can remove unfriendly circumstances, and can eliminate the struggle for existence. Under his fostering care the exceptional plant, which has harked back to ancient traditions of its race, and assumed a form strange to its contemporaries, may be encouraged, stimulated, and developed until it becomes an established species.

Thus when Mr. Burbank crosses two species of walnuts and plants the new nuts so produced, the seedlings that spring up, are absolutely amazing in the variety of forms that they exhibit. The leaves of some resemble those of one parent, the leaves of others resemble those of the other parent; still others have leaves of an entirely novel and unexpected shape, not only imitating every known, and apparently every possible, type of walnut foliage, but *even aping the foliage of the oak or the leaves of berry-bearing shrubs!*

And all this is the result of a simple crossing of life-currents, in which these tendencies would have remained latent but for such crossing.

First crossing, to secure variation and break up established habits; then selection, to isolate and develop the new forms in which the master's eye sees the indications of future usefulness, beauty, and permanence—such is the formula for the transformation of the plant-world, whose beginnings have drawn all eyes upon Luther Burbank.

After all, there is some verisimilitude in likening his operations to those of a wizard. The old magicians could not always foresee what spirits their necromancy would call forth—and no more can this modern conjurer of science. We have

seen that by crossing a raspberry with a blackberry he produced a valuable new species of fruit. But when he crossed the raspberry and the strawberry, a strange thing was summoned into existence—a plant without the thorns of the raspberry, but with the leaves and stolons of the strawberry, shooting up canes to the height of a man's shoulder, bursting into an astonishing bloom of flowers such as neither the strawberry nor the raspberry plant ever knows, and finally, after all this brilliant preparation, producing instead of berries, insignificant, unmaturing knobs!

Then he boldly crossed the blackberry with the apple. One can imagine what a successful combination of those species into an entirely new fruit might have meant. The result, however, was a plant, sprouting from blackberry seeds, that resembled a little apple-tree in foliage and growth, having no thorns and putting forth beautiful rose-colored flowers; but, alas! no fruit.

Scores of similar crossings have been made, hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of plants have been produced, examined, judged—and out of all these multitudes a few individuals have been found worthy of preservation and cultivation, while the others have been brought into existence only to be destroyed again. Some of these rejected forms, springing from who knows what ancestral traits, have been put to death on sight, for they were vegetable monsters which ought not to live! Yet side by side with strange and undesirable forms come forth occasionally shapes of astonishing beauty and plants endowed with matchless virility and fruitfulness. One of Mr. Burbank's hybrid chestnuts, selected from thousands of varying forms produced by the crossings, bears nuts almost two inches in diameter, when it is but eighteen months old! And excellent nuts they are, bowing with their weight the slender branches of miniature trees only three feet tall.

But, while the process of crossing is freely employed in order to obtain a great variety of new forms to work upon, and to obtain them quickly and rapidly, yet marvels are accomplished by simply following up the hints which Nature gives in her spontaneous though evanescent variations. The suppressed, unfavored life-forces are like a myriad of dim, eager

faces, hidden behind nature's draperies—starved, neglected children for whom there is no room and no hope, whose mother amid a multitude of pressing duties has no time, no thought, and no place for them. Yet, occasionally, one peeps forth with momentary boldness only to be rudely thrust back from the unfriendly and impenetrable throng of extant existences. Such an incident forms one of the opportunities for which the experimenter watches, ready to extend a helping hand.

Mr. Burbank's latest production in the way of a new fruit, the "pomato," is an example of the method of selection without previous crossing. The pomato gets its name from the fact that it is a fruit resembling a tomato growing on a potato-plant. The plant from which it has been developed was originally a wild variety of potato found in the Southwest, which showed a tendency to produce "balls" on the vines at the expense of the root-tubers. Mr. Burbank saw that these potato-balls, rudimentary examples of which are common on potato-plants, could be developed into a desirable fruit resembling the tomato. By the simple process of selection, as in the case of the crimson poppy, he succeeded, in the course of about five years, in training the plants to grow to several times the size of ordinary potato-plants, and to produce, instead of the original small, hard, bitter, green balls, a fine white fruit, from an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half in diameter, with a tender skin like that of a tomato, although the fruit is more regular in shape than the tomato, and with a savory pulp having a high flavor and a pleasing fragrance. The pomato is delicious when eaten raw from the hand, and particularly fine as a preserve, or when cooked for the table. No doubt can be entertained that this new garden-fruit will be extensively introduced and cultivated.

One more example of the wonderful effects of selection when guided by the hand of genius. The example I have in mind is the "Bartlett plum," surely one of the most astonishing fruits in existence, and a very striking instance of the force of education. It happened, years ago, that Mr. Burbank noticed in a plum taken from one of his trees a slight suggestion of the flavor of the well-known Bartlett pear. Mr. Burbank treasured the pit of that peculiar plum as if it had been a

diamond, and, pursuing a method similar to that described in the case of the pomato, he gradually developed a new kind of plum, which has now attained a state of complete stability, a plum which, it is soberly averred, has more distinctly the flavor of the Bartlett pear than the pear itself has! And what shall we say of the fact that the plum-tree which bears the "Bartlett plums" presents some of the characteristics of a Bartlett pear-tree, although nowhere in its known ancestry has it been crossed with a member of the pear tribe? What a glimpse this opens into the infinite complexity of the history of plants, and what a light it casts upon Mr. Burbank's dictum that "*Heredity is the sum of all past environments!*"

It may have occurred to the reader that there is something like wizardry in the rapidity with which Mr. Burbank brings his new kinds of plants to maturity, considering that the methods employed require the accumulated effects of successive generations. This is largely explained by the resort to grafting. Seedlings of a new variety of plant or tree are often grafted upon an old plant or tree, and thus are pushed ahead, and hurried onward, in the race of life. They get the benefit of the strength and virility of the older plant from whose fully developed circulation they draw their nourishment. Among the curious sights in Mr. Burbank's grounds at Santa Rosa and at Sebastopol are trees hundreds of whose branches are "strangers to the blood" of the tree that bears them. One has no fewer than five hundred and twenty-six varieties of apples growing upon its grafted branches—red apples, green apples, yellow apples, round apples, bell-shaped apples, sweet apples, sour apples—and the seed of each of these can be separately experimented with.

"Artificial pollination" is another method employed by Mr. Burbank. With a camel's-hair brush he takes the pollen from the stamens, or anthers, of the one flower, which in this case plays the part of the male parent of the cross, or hybrid, that is to be produced, and places it upon the stigmas covering the pistil of a different flower, which is to be the mother plant. This act is called "pollinating the flower." When the pollination, or fertilization, is completed, the flower that has been thus treated is carefully protected (say, by covering it with a

paper bag as it grows on its stem) from any further accidental contact with pollen carried by insects, or by the wind.

When the seeds of the artificially pollinated flower have ripened, they are sown, and the plants that spring up from them will contain a mingling of the hereditary characteristics of the two parents. A considerable variety of forms will be exhibited by the individual plants sprung from this seed, and if afterward a second crossing is effected, the number of variations produced will be greatly increased.

All sorts of latent traits now make their appearance. The hidden children burst forth in a wild crowd! But having made his selections, the experimenter allows all the other forms to disappear, and in a few generations (plant generations) the chosen ones become fixed new varieties or species. On the average, Mr. Burbank finds that about half a dozen generations are required for this purpose. The mutation theory of Professor De Vries can not stand in the light of Mr. Burbank's experiments, because while that theory assumes that only at certain periods in the life of plants do sudden mutations, producing new species, take place, the experiments demonstrate that man can produce mutations whenever he wills it, and that "mutation is not a period but a state." The so-called Mendelian laws are proved by these experiments to be inadequate, because they are found to apply only in a limited number of cases. Mr. Burbank's operations have been conducted on so gigantic a scale that, for breadth of view, he has the same advantage over other experimenters that one standing on the summit of a dominating mountain possesses over those who have climbed only to the top of a foothill. Finally, his experiments have proved the falsity of the doctrine that acquired characteristics are not transmitted.

There was once a flower growing at Santa Rosa which, in view of its subsequent history, I would have given much to see—a hybrid *Mesembrianthemum*, a plant without sufficient native distinction to have a popular name. But, led by some dim suggestion of hidden beauty which he alone could perceive, Mr. Burbank took this insignificant flower and, by crossing and selection, produced a bed of delicate little pink-white blossoms, which for four years were the admiration of all be-

holders. Then, suddenly, without discoverable cause, every one of these new plants died. It is said that they all perished in a night, as if the breath of a pestilence had blown upon them alone, leaving their stately companions in the garden of beauty untouched and unharmed. They had looked out upon the world and charmed it for a few brief seasons, but its touch was too rough, and they quickly shrank into the habitation of forgotten forms. No human eye may ever see their like again, for years of experimentation had been required to bring them forth, and they left not a seed nor a living root!

But the field from which these things may be developed is illimitable, and Mr. Burbank is only at the beginning of his work. With his hybrid thornless and spiculeless cactuses, bearing rich and nourishing fruit, and juicy stems, which may turn arid deserts into populated plains; with his fruit-trees taught to withstand the frost, and his grains educated to defy the drought; with his continually growing array of new plants, new plums, new cherries, new apples, new berries, new fruits never before seen in orchard or garden, new flowers never before dreamed of by florists—with all these, still the greatest part of his career, we may hope, is before him. And wider yet will be the effect of his example and the inspiration of his genius upon others who shall take up the work after him.

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN[1]

Mr. Luther Burbank, of Santa Rosa, California, is doubtless the most skilful experimenter in the field of the formation of new forms of plant-life by the process of crossing and selection. He is the creator of many of our most useful plant forms: roots, nuts, fruits, grains, and grasses, as well as of many of our most beautiful flowers. His methods are the practical application of the theories of Darwin and his followers, and to a degree wholly exceptional among plant-breeders, Mr. Burbank has kept in touch with most modern work in the field of bionomics, and very much of his time and energy is devoted to experiments of scientific interest not likely of themselves to yield immediate practical results. In the

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nature of things, the demands of his work, and the necessity for the sale of new forms produced by him, have prevented the keeping of detailed records of his work, although steps have been taken toward the provision of explicit records in the future. For the rest, Mr. Burbank's success in practical achievement gives weight to his views on theoretical questions. Some of these views follow, all quotation marks referring to Mr. Burbank's own statements.

The process of formation of new types may be grouped under four heads: selection, crossing, hybridization, and mutation (or saltation). The process of artificial selection is used in all cases, those varying strains likely to prove useful being preserved, the others destroyed. The word "crossing" may be advantageously used for the mingling of strains within a species, and "hybridization" for the breeding together of members of different species. The name "mutation" (or preferably "saltation") is applied to sudden changes of characters for which no immediate cause is apparent.

Not many of Mr. Burbank's results are due to unassisted selection, as the processes of crossing and hybridization save time by the increase of the rate or degree of variation. There is, however, no evident limit to the results to be obtained by a simple selection. New and permanent species of wheat have, without a shadow of doubt, been produced by selection alone.

It is questioned whether competition in minor details or "intraspecific selection" can form species permanent as wild species are. As to this, Mr. Burbank notes that the cultivated species produced by selection "have a very brief history compared with the wild species, and, moreover, they are constantly being placed in a new environment by man, being influenced by new soils, new climates, new fertilizers, and the like." "Breeding to a *fixed line* will bring fixed results. Man's desultory breeding is brief, the struggle for existence is mostly absent, and new ideals and new uses are required instead of ability to endure under natural conditions. Man's efforts at selective breeding are fluctuating with frequent saltations."

"Crossing is done to secure a wealth of variation. By this means we get the species into a state of perturbation or

'wabble,' and take advantage of the 'wabbling' to guide the life forces into the desired habits or channels. The first crossing is generally a step in the direction in which we are going, but repeated crossing is often necessary and judicious selection always necessary to secure valuable practical results. Crossing may give the best or the worst qualities of the parent, or any other qualities; and previous crossings often affect the results."

"Hybridization differs from ordinary crossing only in degree. A species is only a race which has assumed greater fixity. The purposes and results of crossing within the species and of hybridization of different species are essentially alike. The formation of the new individual by the sexual relation of two parents is in itself a species of crossing, giving each new individual in its degree new traits or new combinations."

"Bees and other insects, as well as the wind, cross plants, but they do not work intelligently, therefore rarely to any advantage economically to man. No mechanic could invent such devices as those which tend to prevent self-crossing in plants. *All evolution and improvement are dependent on crossing*, therefore nature has produced more wonderful devices for this purpose than for any other."

"Mutations, or saltations, are often found; that is, fixed forms springing up, generally from unknown causes, forms which are not hybrids, and which remain constant; as, for instance, colored flowers which yield white forms, these yielding white constantly in their progeny. *These mutations can be produced at will* by any of the various means which disturb the habits of the plant. It comes out when the conditions are ripe. New conditions bring out latent traits. I should expect mutations to arise in the American primrose and most other plants under wholly new conditions. Extra food or growth force as well as crossing favors variation, as does abrupt change of conditions of any kind. Five or six generations will usually fix a mutation. Sometimes it is fixed at once."

"The evolution of a species is largely dependent on crossing the variations contained within it. Forms too closely bred soon run out, because generally only by crossing does variation appear. It is of great advantage to have the parents a

certain distance apart in their hereditary tendencies. If too close together there is not range enough of variety. If too far apart, the developed forms are unfitted for existence because too unstable. *Correlated changes work together to produce the effect of mutations.* Environment effects a permanent change in species by selection of those which fit it or by producing changes in individuals which are better equipped to survive. *Heredity is the sum of all past environment,* conditions both latent and apparent. Latent traits often arise when circumstances make them possible. Environment of a lifetime does not necessarily or usually appear in another lifetime, but *continues in the same direction,* and will strike into the nature of the plant in time. We may refer to Emerson's remark on the 'baking into the picture of the pigment laid down by environment.' Selection is 'cumulative environment.' Fortuitous variations occur everywhere. They come up all the time, from past environments, past heredity, and present opportunity. No two individuals are alike. Where there is a marked tendency in one direction, we have the case of a persistent effect of environment. Monstrosities are engorgements of force. They are generally a thousand times more likely to develop another sort of monstrosity than normal individuals are. You are likely to get from sports and monstrosities either extreme of variance. *They do not, however, maintain themselves, because heredity pulls back their descendants.* A wide variance is more easily pulled back than a slight variance. There are cases where the monstrosity might pull back its species. This is more likely to happen if the forces of natural or artificial selection were in its favor. There are many cases where the variant in minor points is prepotent and outweighs the original stock. Monstrosities produced by crossing often perpetuate themselves as well as the species does."

"The mutation theory of the origin of species seems like a step backward toward the special creation theory, and without any facts as yet adequate to support it as a universal theory, however valuable and suggestive the experiments along this line may be."

"A character may be latent through many generations or

centuries, appearing when the right cross brings it out; or it may appear under specially favorable or peculiar conditions of growth."

According to Burbank, "the facts of plant life demand a kinetic theory of evolution, a slight change from Huxley's statement that 'matter is a magazine of force' to that of matter being force alone. The time will come when the theory of ions will be thrown aside and no line left between force and matter. We can not get the right perspective in science unless we go beyond our senses. A dead material universe moved by outside forces is in itself highly improbable, but a universe of force alone is probable, but requires great effort to make it conceivable, because we must conceive it in the terms of our sense experience."

NORWAY ESTABLISHES HER INDEPENDENCE

SEPARATION OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN

A.D. 1905

HENRY SETON KARR
BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON

Not often does our sophisticated world see a new nation established in its centers of civilization. Especially in Western Europe, the various countries have long seemed permanently settled unities. Yet the date of June 6, 1905, gave birth to a new kingdom. Norway, which had not been an independent state since the ancient days of the vikings, now declared her independence of her sister realm of Sweden and started on an individual career as a separate monarchy. The Swedish king and Swedish nobles fumed and even threatened warfare, but ultimately decided to let Norway go her own way in peace.

The new state is unique among monarchies in that she has no aristocracy whatever. Norway is really a nation of peasants, perhaps the most advanced democracy in Europe. In establishing their independence, her people discussed carefully whether they should set up a republican form of government or invite a king to rule them. Finally deciding by a narrow margin that monarchy was the more practical form of self-government, they invited a Danish prince to become their king. He accepted, though his new subjects have allowed him only a mere shadow of authority.

The dispute which led to Norway's thus breaking away from Sweden had been of long standing. Sweden, being the more powerful state of the two and the land which supplied the sovereign for their united kingdom, has always been inclined to treat Norway as a dependent province. The Norwegians resented this bitterly. The story of their increasing quarrels is here told, first from an outside viewpoint, and then by the most noted of Norwegians, their great novelist Björnson. It was Björnson who led the Norwegians in their revolt and thus became their foremost man in politics as well as in literature.

HENRY SETON KARR

THERE is one striking difference between Norway and Sweden, united until yesterday under one crown. While Sweden possesses a nobility and a limited franchise, and its government in consequence smacks something of autocracy

and class, Norway is to all intents and purposes a farming and peasant democracy. There are no Norwegian nobles, and 80 per cent. of its male population have a voice in the government of their country as against 30 per cent. of the Swedes.

This essential difference between the two countries, a difference at once national and political, is a factor always to be borne in mind in considering the causes that have led to the present Scandinavian rupture. Norwegians and Swedes, though near neighbors, and speaking to all intents and purposes one language, are neither politically nor socially homogeneous, and their close national intercourse may be said to be barred by a certain wide-spread and inherent incompatibility of temper.

Norway, as a kingdom, has existed for over a thousand years, and even in the remoter ages of her history possessed a standard of culture that few northern nations could equal, as is witnessed by the old Norse laws and institutions, and by her ancient literature (the Sagas).

For nearly 400 years before 1814 Norway and Denmark were united under one crown, Christian the First, King of Denmark, being elected King of Norway and crowned at Trondhjem in 1449. But the foundation of the present trouble may be said to have been laid in 1814, at the time of the general upheaval caused by the Napoleonic wars, and the consequent rearranging of the map of Europe. Denmark took the wrong side, as it turned out, and allied herself with Napoleon when his power was broken. Sweden, on the other hand, joined Russia, and so, when the allies emerged victorious from the historic struggle, Denmark was punished by being deprived of the crown of Norway, which, by the Treaty of Kiel in January, 1814, was proposed to be handed over to Sweden as a reward for Marshal Bernadotte's assistance against his former chief. Prior to this, Bernadotte, by a strange romance of history, had been adopted as Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810 by the childless King Charles the Thirteenth.

But the Norwegian people had to be reckoned with; and when tidings came of the Treaty of Kiel these hardy Norsemen

promptly declined to be handed over to a new monarch in this cavalier fashion. A gathering at Eidsvold was held in February, 1814, and Prince Christian Frederick, then a Norwegian Statholder, and afterward King of Denmark, was appointed Regent. This was followed by a further meeting of a representative body of Norwegians, also held at Eidsvold, on the 20th of April, when the present constitution was drawn up, and on the 17th of May it was agreed to by all present amid a scene of great enthusiasm. On the same day Christian Frederick was chosen King.

After this events followed one another with some rapidity. Sweden proceeded to assert her claims by force, and Karl Johan Bernadotte led a Swedish army across the frontier; but the campaign only lasted fourteen days. After some unimportant skirmishing an armistice was agreed to, and the Convention of Moss was held on the 14th of August, at which the allies, England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, were represented. This convention abrogated the Treaty of Kiel. Karl Johan agreed to maintain the Norwegian constitution, provided he was chosen King, and the Storthing was again summoned to consider the question. Christian Frederick's courage, however, failed him, and he resigned and left Norway on the day the Storthing met. There was now no further difficulty, and the Swedish King, Karl the Thirteenth, was elected King of Norway by the Storthing on the 4th of November, 1814. The Crown Prince came to Christiania and swore to observe the Norwegian Constitution, and the next year the Rigsakt, or Act of Union, was passed by the Storthing. This Constitution has been sworn to by every succeeding King of Norway and Sweden up to the present day. It thus appears that the Constitution (Grundlov) approved at Eidsvold on the 17th of May, 1814, is the Magna Charta of Norway, the guardian of her political freedom, the basis of her union with Sweden, and the document to whose terms all differences between the two countries require to be referred.

Before touching more particularly on these terms, one interesting point of military history requires to be cleared up. Why did the military campaign last only fourteen days? And, it may be further asked, is not something due to the magna-

nimity of Karl Johan and the Swedish people in granting such favorable terms to an apparently conquered foe who made so poor a fight? But here again this scant summary of events does serious injustice to Norway. Karl Johan was an astute politician as well as an experienced soldier, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Convention of Moss was a mutual compromise, and that Norway was very far from entering into it as a conquered province. The result was partly owing to the pressure of the Allied Powers, partly to Bernadotte's anxiety to settle the matter without delay on the eve of the Congress of Vienna, and largely also to the fact that Sweden was not then fully prepared to carry on the war and compel the Norwegians to submission by force of arms. Karl Johan must have known full well the difficulty of a fight to a finish in the wild and thickly wooded mountains of Norway against so hardy and determined a foe. So he took what he could get at the time, probably less than he wanted, much to the disappointment of the Swedish governing classes. These had hoped for a union by which Norway would have become a mere province of Sweden.

We now turn again to the Constitution itself. Here is its opening sentence:—"The Kingdom of Norway shall be a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable Kingdom, united with Sweden under one King, its form of government shall be a limited and hereditary Monarchy."

Nothing can be clearer and more unequivocal than these words, which require to be kept always in view.

Taking the Constitution as a whole, it is a most remarkable effort of the statesmanship of nearly 100 years ago. It has been pronounced, on high authority, as "the most liberal of constitutions, one of which any modern nation might boast."

When things had settled down, Karl Johan tried to regain lost ground. Among other things he particularly wanted the power of absolute veto, which, under the Constitution that he had accepted, he did not possess. The sturdy patriots of the Storthing resolutely declined to entertain his proposal, and to this day the merely suspensive royal veto remains one of the most important features of the Constitution.

On one occasion, for example, a few years after the union was entered into, the Norwegian Storthing passed a Bill for the abolition of nobility, the country being too poor to maintain an aristocracy. Karl Johan took a different view. He looked upon this abolition as a blow aimed at his power in Norway, and twice refused his sanction. The Bill passed a third time, under the Constitution became law, and so the people's will prevailed.

During the ensuing century and up to the present time several further attempts have been made on the part of Sweden to give the King greater power, and to bring the two countries into closer union; but the Norwegians have always resisted these efforts, knowing full well the dangers of such a course for their independence. And here, it may be asked, who can blame them for such action, least of all we of the Anglo-Saxon race, who have fought and bled the world over for political freedom?

It will be seen, then, that the King of Norway and Sweden can exercise his veto only twice. The Norwegian Parliament possesses a right unknown in any other monarchy. When the same Bill has been passed by three successive Storthings, it becomes the law of the land without the assent of the King (see section 79 of the Constitution). The King can thus delay a bill from becoming law for, say, seven to nine years. This should serve as a sufficient check upon any legislative assembly, while at the same time insuring that the supreme will of the people shall ultimately prevail.

King Oscar on two occasions refused his sanction to measures passed for the second time by the Norwegian National Assembly—namely, the Bill for the admittance of the members of the Government to the debates of the Storthing; and the Bill for eliminating the symbol of the Union from the Norwegian national flag. Both these Bills on being passed for the third time became law. The present difficulty, which has culminated in the respectful dethronement of King Oscar by the Norwegians, has existed for twenty-five years. Norway wanted a separate consular service, which the Stockholm Government declined to grant. The Storthing passed a law accordingly; it was duly presented to King Oscar by the

Norwegian Cabinet at Stockholm, but the royal assent was unhesitatingly refused.

The Storthing then took a startling and unprecedented step. The resignation of the Ministry having been tendered and declined, the King knowing full well that it was impossible to get any one else in Norway to carry on the government in face of the opposition of a united people, the National Assembly met on the historic June 7, 1905, and, in effect, formally deposed the King. The concluding words of the President of the Storthing, Herr Berner, on this momentous occasion, are worth recording. In the midst of an impressive silence, all standing up, the President moved the following resolution: "As the members of the Council of State had resigned their office, and as his Majesty the King had declared himself unable to form a new Government, and as the constitutional royal power had ceased to be operative, that the Government which had just resigned should be empowered to carry on and exercise the authority (which they had formerly received from the King) in accordance with the constitution of the Kingdom, with the necessary alterations; that the Union with Sweden under one King is dissolved in consequence of the King having ceased to act as a *Norwegian* King."

The resolution was unanimously carried. This action of the Norwegian Storthing has been described as an "unwarrantable provocation," and it doubtless amazed and offended a large section of the Swedish people, as well as deeply touched the pride of King Oscar. But the foregoing brief sketch of Scandinavian history has been penned to small purpose if it does not show that there is another side to this question; that another and a very different view can be taken of the resolution of the Norwegian Storthing. Their action is the expression, so far, at all events, as an observer can judge, of the deliberate will of a united and homogeneous people, evoked by ninety years of international friction, and finally culminating in (let us hope) peaceful but determined separation.

There is no need to describe in detail the various phases of the long, wearisome, and futile attempt of the two countries to come to an understanding on the consular question. It has

continued from February, 1891, when King Oscar, in his speech from the throne, announced to the Storthing that he was about to lay before it and the Riksdag a project providing for the discussion, in a composite Council of State, of all questions relating to their common affairs, to the severing of the Union by the Storthing's manifesto of June 6, 1905. One thing, however, is quite certain. While, from the outset, the King and the Riksdag, with every intention of being fair to Norway, were working for the maintenance of the Union, the Storthing was really using the consulate question as the best expedient at hand for dissolving it. Herr Ræder, himself a Norwegian, aptly says:

"No sensible man could very well deny that politics lay at the bottom of the whole consulate squabble, inasmuch as the economical reasons alleged for a complete separation . . . were so inadequate that they could not possibly be impressed upon the understanding of the masses except by persistent agitation."

Finally, the Storthing, in direct contravention of the Act of Union, which enjoins that all matters concerning both kingdoms shall be discussed in a composite Council of State, passed in 1892 a resolution abolishing the common consular system without consulting the Swedish Council of State at all; whereupon the King exercised his constitutional prerogative and interposed his veto. The Riksdag, while supporting the King on purely unional grounds, expressed its willingness to reconsider the whole question of the Foreign Office and diplomacy of the united kingdoms, including the consular question; and on June 5, 1895, Norway consented to negotiate with Sweden on the subject. The result was the formation of a Union Commission to examine and report upon all the points in dispute. The report of this committee was read in the composite Council of State on October 21, 1898. The Norwegian Government had previously declared that a prolongation of the negotiations would be useless unless they were continued on the lines of a separate Foreign Office for each kingdom; to which the Swedish Council of State objected that separate organs for each kingdom in the department of foreign affairs involved a principle erroneous in theory

and unworkable in practise. At the same time it expressed its readiness to resume the negotiations on the basis of a continuance of a common Foreign Office and consular system. To this the Norwegians would not agree; and the Commission was therefore dissolved.

On January 21, 1902, at the suggestion of the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lagerheim, a second Union Commission was formed, to consider the advisability of a separate consular system for each of the united kingdoms, with the retention of a common diplomatic representation. The negotiations were conducted at Stockholm from October, 1902, to January, 1903, and were continued at Christiania during February and March, 1903. In their anxiety to meet the wishes of the Norwegians, the Swedish commissioners advised a composition on the following bases: (1) separate consular systems for Sweden and Norway, the consuls for each kingdom to be under the jurisdiction of the authorities appointed by the home Government in each case; (2) the relations of the separate consuls to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to be regulated by laws of a like tenor, laws unalterable and unrepealable except with the consent of the authorities of both countries. The Swedish negotiators recognized, at the same time, that the actual position of the Minister of Foreign Affairs did not correspond with Norway's just claims to equality within the Union; and they expressed the wish to take this question also into consideration. But the Norwegians declined further negotiations; and the Commission finally came to the conclusion that the views of the two countries were so divergent that, for the present, an agreement was unattainable. Thus this second Commission also proved abortive.

In the light of subsequent events it seems pretty clear that the Norwegian Government had by this time arrived at the conclusion that the whole was better than a part; in other words, that the dissolution of the Union by a bold *coup d'état* would be more profitable, and perhaps more dignified, than negotiations resulting, at the best, in concessions of a more or less conditional character on the part of Sweden. Anyhow, the subsequent policy of the Storthing is intelligible only on this hypothesis. At the meeting of the Norwegian Council of

State on April 5, 1905, the Ministry presented the Storthing's resolution for the erection of a separate consular service for Norway for the approval of the Crown; and the Prince Regent promptly vetoed it on the ground that the question was a common one, and could therefore only be settled constitutionally by an agreement with the confederated state of Sweden. On May 27th, when King Oscar had resumed power, the Norwegian Government presented their resolution anew; and again it was vetoed, for the same reason as before. The Norwegian Ministry thereupon tendered their resignation. The King refused to accept it on the ground that no other Government could be formed.

The crisis had now become acute. The Norwegians themselves put an end to it by an act which can only be described as revolutionary. On June 6th, the Storthing, unanimously and without debate, resolved, on the motion of its President, that, inasmuch as the Ministry had resigned and his Majesty had declared himself unable to provide the country with an administration, therefore the constitutional monarchy had ceased to exercise its functions. The Storthing thereupon empowered the retiring Ministry to exercise provisionally the authority heretofore delegated to the King, and declared the union with Sweden to be dissolved, because the King had ceased to act as King of Norway. The Storthing at the same time unanimously adopted an address to the King, informing him of what had been done and inviting him to cooperate with them in forming a settled government by permitting a prince of his royal house to sit upon the Norwegian throne. The absurdity of inviting a monarch whom they had just dethroned to assist them to repeal the established constitutional order of succession, which he had solemnly sworn to uphold, does not appear to have occurred to the Norwegians; but their subsequent acts demonstrated that the breach was meant to be final. The unional flag was hauled down, and a national flag, minus the emblem of the Union, was hoisted in its place; the names of the King and the members of the royal family were expunged from the prayer-books; and a Minister of Foreign Affairs for Norway was appointed.

The reply of the King to the manifesto and address of the

Storthing was dignified and emphatic. He reminded the Norwegians that a union voluntarily entered into by the representatives of both nations could not be dissolved by one of them without the consent of the other. Not till the Riksdag had pronounced its opinion and sanctioned the separation could the Union be regarded as repealed. In his reply of June 10th to the President of the Storthing, he expressed his views still more explicitly, and justified his veto of the consular-service bill for Norway. In this document he demonstrated that, according to the Norwegian constitution, the right of the King of Norway to refuse his sanction to any bill of a single Storthing, if he considered the welfare of the realm to demand it, was absolute. To this rule there was no exception, however many times the Storthing might present its bill for the royal sanction. According to Section 79 of the same constitution, indeed, there was only one case in which a bill of the Storthing might become law in Norway even without the royal sanction, and that was the case of a bill which had been adopted, in its original form, by three successive Storthings, and was then presented for the royal sanction, and presented in vain. This unique case had not occurred. He pointed out, moreover, that it was not only his right but his duty, as unional King, to refuse his sanction to any measure adopted by one member, but concerning both members, of the Union, as in the present instance, without the consent of the other party to the existing contract. He had always endeavored, he added, to give Norway her proper place within the Union; but his duty toward the Union had compelled him, in this instance, to act even in opposition to the Norwegian people. He had had to choose between breaking his oath as a constitutional sovereign and risking a breach with his Norwegian councillors; and his decision could not, for one instant, be doubtful.

From the strictly unional standpoint these arguments appear to be absolutely unanswerable. Certainly the Storthing made no attempt to answer them from the constitutional point of view. On the other hand, from the purely Norwegian standpoint, it is obvious that the Storthing had the right to demand an administration from the King; and he had declared

his inability, in the circumstances, to give them one. If Sweden and the Union could have been eliminated from the controversy, Oscar II. would certainly have been placed in an awkward dilemma; the Storthing would have gained at least a technical victory. But Sweden and the Union could not be so eliminated. Admitting to the full the force and justice of all Norway's pretensions, admitting that an absolute royal veto was "incompatible with anything that goes by the name of national independence and constitutional autonomy," as the leading Norwegian newspapers not unfairly argue, Norway was, nevertheless, as much bound by the Act of Union as Sweden was, and had no right to dissolve it of her own accord. In fine, the whole affair amounts to this: the young, expansive Norwegian democracy was cramped by the restrictions of a monarchical union; and the time had come for her to burst her bonds and go her own way.

But the separation need not have been a rupture. Had the Norwegians declared straight out that the Union had become inconvenient and oppressive, had they loyally invited the Swedes to cooperate with them in dissolving it amicably, there is no reason to suppose that they would have encountered any serious opposition from the sister state. Coercion on the part of Sweden is inconceivable. It is true that both by land and sea the forces of Sweden are vastly superior to those of Norway. Her eleven first-class warships would find little difficulty in blockading the four first-class Norwegian war-ships in their own ports; nor could her army, if she were in earnest, be prevented for long from occupying the Norwegian capital, though, no doubt, the Norwegians would give a good account of themselves. But the occupation of Christiania would by no means be equivalent to the conquest of Norway, to say nothing of the intense national feeling which any warlike operations on the part of Sweden would provoke.

How will the severance of Sweden and Norway affect international politics? Prejudicially, we fear. Diplomatists may henceforth have to deal with a Northern as well as with an Eastern question. To begin with, the political efficiency of Scandinavia will be seriously impaired. The hope of creating a barrier against Russian aggression was not without its

influence upon the signatories of the Treaty of Kiel. Now, instead of a united and indivisible Scandinavian state, we shall have two independent nations, certainly with divergent aims, possibly with clashing interests. We must not forget that for years past Björnson and his followers have loudly and frequently declared that they would rather break up the Union than allow Norway to be attracted within the orbit of Sweden's foreign policy. The Union has been broken: the Norwegians now have it in their power to obstruct, if not to paralyze, Swedish diplomacy. But, admitting the exceedingly doubtful possibility of a permanent political agreement between Sweden and Norway in the future, the further question at once arises, Is Norway able adequately to defend her immense and rugged coast-line, and if able, would she be willing to do so? Certainly no Norwegian Government which imposed additional taxes for the express purpose of national defense could hope to retain its popularity for long. It is even conceivable that an alliance with Russia might be more popular in Norway than the expensive necessity of taking due precautions against her northern neighbor. So far, at all events, the Norwegian Radicals have ever exhibited a child-like confidence in the benevolence of the Czar. Altogether, the outlook is disquieting; and the disunited Scandinavian kingdoms may add to the growing embarrassments of European diplomacy.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON [1]

It is possible that the way in which the Norwegians put an end to the union with Sweden may not meet with general approval. But this, it seems to me, is of secondary importance, for the dissolution of the Union is a happy event, as well for Sweden as for Norway. It was the only means for bringing about a good understanding between the three Scandinavian peoples. It is true that for the moment the Swedes are decidedly opposed to such an understanding. But circumstances are stronger than men. What is happening in the far East puts time on our side, and we can wait

[1] Reproduced by permission from the *Independent Magazine.*

till the right moment comes for the consummation of this greater union.

We were united to Sweden in 1814. The bond of union was a common sovereign. In 1827 began the quarrel which has been going on till this summer and which has eventuated in the disruption of the Union. A fact in this connection should be noted. An unjust act of England was the starting-point of this long struggle.

Nearly eighty years ago an English trader was engaged in smuggling at Bodö, on our northwest coast. By means of false documents and untrue statements he persuaded the British Minister of Foreign Affairs to demand damages from Norway for the seizure of his merchandise and the imprisonment of his employees. Thereupon the London Foreign Office took such a decided stand that the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs was weak enough to yield and Norway had to pay. Never was perpetrated an unfairer act, and when the whole matter was unraveled the reprehensible conduct of the Swedish Foreign Office in caring, or rather in not caring, for our interests became so glaring and the comments thereon of the Norwegian officials were so full of indignation that an end was demanded of this Swedish tutelage. On every hand in Norway the question was now asked whether a free state should not conduct its own foreign affairs, especially as in this affair Sweden had assumed a degree of authority permitted neither by the Norwegian Constitution nor the Act of Union.

Let me now enumerate some of the claims advanced by Norway, but disputed by Sweden. We asked that equal importance be given to the two kingdoms in the great seal of state; that Norway should have her own flag; that in Norway the name of that country should come first in all official documents; that the Governor of Norway should not be a Swede, for this post filled otherwise than by a Norwegian reduced our country to the rank of a province. One by one the Swedes yielded on all these points, but not without long resistance. While Norwegians were admitted to the diplomatic and consular services of the Union, we could not secure what we had most at heart—*viz.*, the conduct of our own

foreign affairs. Finally, a mixed commission made up of Swedes and Norwegians was appointed to settle this and other matters in dispute between the two countries. This commission sat from 1839 to 1844, but accomplished nothing. Sweden refused to grant our demands. A second mixed commission sat from 1865 to 1869, but with no better results. The Swedes made it a condition before they would make any concessions on other points that Norway accept the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Norwegian Storthing refused. In 1885 the Swedish Parliament regulated by law the conduct of our Norwegian foreign affairs, which up to then had been a royal prerogative and which now was put absolutely in the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Stockholm. We saw in this act a direct violation of our rights. To our reiterated demand that we be allowed to participate in the conduct of the nation's foreign policy we were always given the same reply—*viz.*, that we must recognize the Swedish Minister in these matters. In 1895 came together another mixed commission, which was divided into several factions and which accomplished no practical results. Finally, an abortive effort was made to give to each country a consular service of its own. This time the proposal came from Sweden. But at the last moment she imposed conditions which a free country could not accept. The patience of Norway was now worn out.

To these various causes of discontent should be added the embarrassing situation often occasioned in Norway by the intrusion of the King and Swedish Government into our home politics when these were not to the taste of Sweden. More than once our Government has had to complain of the King's interference, quite without our request, with the growth of the parliamentary régime in our country based on universal suffrage. From the moment when, in 1821, we abolished all titles of nobility, down to 1884 when we rejected the absolute veto power of the King, the governing classes of Sweden have tried to exert an uninvited influence in our nation.

The most natural explanation of the troubles born of the Union is that the two peoples are very different and not suited to go hand in hand. The demand of the majority of the Norwegian people had long been as follows: Complete indepen-

dence in the union, or separation. In the state to which things were come everybody was saying: We shall never obtain complete independence in the Union, so the Union must be dissolved. The means adopted to bring about this disruption may not have been the best, but since this was the system adopted, we are all one to defend it.

The Norwegian Storthing decided to vote the bill concerning our having an independent consular service. Our constitution gave the Storthing the perfect right to do so. The bill was carried unanimously and submitted to the King for his approval. The members of the Cabinet were unanimous in advising the King to sign it. But he refused, adding that it would now be impossible for him to constitute a new Ministry in Norway, the former one having resigned. He also refused to go to Norway. Thereupon the Storthing declared that a constitutional sovereign without a Ministry was no longer a reigning monarch, and as the Union was based on a common sovereign, it had now ceased to exist. Everybody in Norway accepted this view, and but one official refused to obey instructions emanating from the new order of things.

The spirit of the Norwegian nation is indubitably republican, and yet, in order to give the dynasty and the sister kingdom a proof of our esteem, we asked King Oscar to permit one of his family to become King of Norway.

Never was a revolution—for this was one—brought about more peacefully, and never has a revolution been based on a more noble motive. We do not desire war; on the contrary, we wish to surmount an obstacle in the way of a good understanding between two peoples. Our effort is not to divide, but to unite. When the three northern nations—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—all enjoy perfect independence, then will they be in a condition to seek mutual support in a wider union and a brotherly solidarity.

THE AWAKENING OF CHINA

A.D. 1905

ADACHI KINNOSUKE WU TING FANG
A CHINESE CAMBRIDGE-MAN

One chief effect of the great war between Russia and Japan was its influence upon China. China, after her defeat by Japan, had been lethargic and despondent, feeling the whole East to be helpless in the grasp of Europe. But Japan's victory convinced the Chinese that the East was destined not to perish but to triumph, if only her people would rouse and assert themselves. So all China was stirred to action at last. The vast slumber of centuries was cast aside, and the "New China" began. As the shrewdly observant Japanese writer Kinnosuke declares in his article herewith, China will, in the future, look back on the year 1905 as Japan does upon 1868, as the year which began her modernization.

The Chinese awakening, when once it had begun, progressed far more rapidly than did that of Japan. The achievements in the way of progress, during only the single year of 1905, are here pointed out by the critical yet enthusiastic view of a Chinaman who has lived long in Europe and been graduated from an English University. This account is preceded by an historical review from the sympathetic standpoint of the Japanese statesman Kinnosuke, and by the official Chinese Government view as presented by that prince of good fellows among mandarins, Wu Ting Fang, who was at the time "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" from China to the United States. He has since played a leading part in the Chinese revolution.

ADACHI KINNOSUKE [1]

THE year 1905, so eventful to Nippon [Japan], is to China a great year indeed. From all indications, China is likely to look back upon this year as we of Nippon look back upon 1868. That was the birth-year of the New Nippon, the first year of the present period of Meiji. Now that she is able to do so, the end and aim of Nippon effort seems to be to bring China to herself, to make her know what she is. On the fine morning when China finds herself—if only we could

[1] Reprinted by permission from *The Forum* magazine.

bring about this simple consummation so devoutly prayed for—the vivisection of the Chinese Empire may appeal to the sense of humor of enlightened Europeans, but never to their territorial ambitions. And already many voices, much more eloquent than the voice of a prophet crying in the wilderness, are telling us of the breaking of the dawn of a new day for China. The fact is that the China of yesterday is farther away from the China of to-day than are the days of Washington from the United States of the present time.

Not so many years ago, a French fleet went up the Min River and anchored within ten miles of the city of Foochow. A short time prior to that, France had a little trouble with the people of Tonquin. The French wanted to rob them of their native land; and, to their honor, the inhabitants fought for it against the French. France suspected that the Chinese Government might have done something to encourage this outlandish sentiment—which in other countries bears the beautiful name of patriotism. That is to say, France suspected that the Government of China might have done its duty toward the people of Tonquin. Through her Minister in Peking, France had demanded an indemnity; and this Christian power was dumfounded to see that China was not in a hurry to pay an indemnity for being so reckless as to dare to do her duty to the people of Tonquin. And the presence of the French fleet in the Min River was one of the usual arguments which civilized Europe used to employ in those days. To the still greater amazement of both the French Minister at Peking and the country he represented, China declined to apologize with a pretty heap of gold for one of the few right things she had done. The French Minister turned to the French admiral of the fleet, anchored in the Min River; and without the slightest intimation of war, the French fired upon the pitiful Chinese fleet which was trying to defend the city of Foochow. Three thousand Chinese bodies floated out to sea and came back into the river with the return of the tide; and for days the mutilated remains of the dead sailors of China spoke with gruesome eloquence of the humanity and manly justice of civilized France!

On November 1, 1897, in the Province of Shantung, two

German missionaries who went into China without an invitation were killed. One might suppose that their Government would have taken a rather philosophical view of this incident, regrettable in the extreme though it was. Such, however, was far from the case; for on the 14th of that month, German marines were landed at Kiaochau, and, through the famous treaty signed on March 6, 1898, the world saw how Germany received what she considered a fair price for the misfortune of the two missionaries, namely, the cession of the finest deep harbor on the Chinese littoral; 3,000 taels of indemnity; the dismissal of the Governor of the Province of Shantung; the building of three "expiatory" chapels; concessions for the building of two railways in the province; and the exclusive right of exploiting the mineral resources of the province within twenty kilometers of the railroad on both sides—all of which goes to show that the Kaiser sets a great value upon the lives of the pious men under his flag.

After that, the Chinese officials took the liberty of informing the Germans in the Shantung province of the feverish condition of the people, and of their feelings toward foreigners in general and Germans in particular; and they told them, moreover, with extremely un-Chinese frankness, that the interior of the province was not at all a healthy place for the Germans to take their holiday trips in. A few Germans, three of them, I think, wishing to prove how enterprising they could be when it came to serving their Kaiser in his laudable work of sending the German flag to all sorts of places where it had not the slightest business to be, laughed at the warning of the Chinese officials and wandered into the interior, whence they were barely able to escape with their lives. The German commander at Kiaochau also went into the interior. However, being a wise man, he did not go alone, but took with him many guns. On his trip he burned two villages, and did not even take the trouble to count the number of Chinese he killed. Of course, such a thing as the Germans paying for the Chinese lives a millionth part of the price that the Germans required the Chinese to pay for the fright of their own pious countrymen never entered his head.

Now, the Kaiser, who knows the word of God, and, judg-

ing by what I have read, uses it not too rarely, did not even frown very harshly upon the act of the commander at Kiaochau in destroying their homes or killing a large number of villagers who had not the slightest hand in the high-priced luxury of threatening the lives of the three foolish Germans. Perhaps, in his heart, the Kaiser very much regretted the unhappy incident; but this did not cause him to overlook the fact that the affair might be turned to good account. He had been trying for many years to convince his people of the importance of building a formidable navy, while for some reason or another the people, on their part, had failed to be convinced by his eloquence of the necessity of spending so many millions for that purpose. But this incident showed clearly how necessary it was to possess a formidable fleet in order to maintain the dignity of the German flag on a distant sea, and how, without it, it would be impossible to carry out the great policy of trade expansion in the far East with which he had been baiting the commercial imagination of the Germans. In a word, the Kaiser could well afford to pay a few marks for the lives of the defenseless Chinese villagers, as well as the entire cost of the two villages that had been burned. But, of course, China did not receive a tael from the Power to which she had paid the price above mentioned for the loss of only two very rash men.

Next, there was issued at Peking, on March 15, 1899, an imperial decree by means of which there was conferred upon the Roman Catholic bishops an official rank similar to that of the viceroys and the governors of provinces in China. In this, China did not particularly wish to put into practise the injunction of the Master in whose name those French missionary bishops everlastingly raised so much mischief, namely, "Love your enemies." But then there were, back of the French demand, the "battalions and cannons" which the Kaiser worships as the guardian gods of peace, and China knew better than to resist.

Finally, the method by means of which the Czar robbed China of something like 3,000,000 square miles, that is to say, of an area about twenty times as large as Japan, is too well known to require discussion.

Not so many years ago many thoughtful people excused the Peking Government for neglecting to attend to many important governmental functions, because it seemed almost impossible for it to do very much beyond throwing away valuable concessions for railway construction. Russia received the East China Railway concession; Germany, that of Kiaochau (343 miles); England, the Tientsin-Shanghai-Kwan (130 miles), the Shanghai-Kwan and Shinmin-tun (240 miles), the Tientsin and Chinkiang (600 miles), and seven others calling for the construction of over two thousand miles of railroad. The French and the Belgians received the Peking-Hankow and five other concessions, while the Americans received the Canton-Hankow concession. With the single exception of the American concession, China gave these valuable things away, not because she wished to do so, but because she could not help herself.

Such, then, was the China of yesterday. Let us now turn our attention to the China of to-day.

On the authority of Sir Chengtung Liancheng, the able and distinguished Chinese Minister to the United States, we have it that the days of concession-giving in China are over. On August 29, 1905, China purchased back from the Americans the Canton-Hankow railroad concession, at a rather fancy price, it is true, but one which was, nevertheless, very low when one looks upon it as the price of the command by China of her own artery.

To-day there is no Li-Hung-Chang at Peking, neither is there a Count Cassini seated across the table from him. Nothing is more remarkable than the rise of Chang Chihtung of Nan-p'i, that famous viceroy at Hankow, to the supreme power in the council chamber of the Chinese empire. It was this enlightened Viceroy who wrote, in his famous work, "Chuen Hio Pien," which he published shortly after the China-Nippon war: "In order to render China powerful, and at the same time preserve our institutions, it is absolutely necessary that we should utilize Western knowledge. But unless Chinese learning be made the basis of education, and a Chinese direction be given to thought, the strong will become anarchists and the

weak slaves. Thus the latter end will be worse than the former."

Happily for China, Chang looks upon education as the salvation of the Chinese empire. He was the pioneer in sending students to Nippon. And Nippon was delighted to receive with the students from Hupeh a grandson of Chang Chihtung, to whom the Nippon Government extended the courtesy of permitting him to enter the Nobles' College at Tokyo. Viceroys Liu K'unyi and Yu-lu, and the governors of Chekiang and Kiangsi, as well as many others, followed the example of Chang Chihtung. To-day over four thousand Chinese students, including both sexes, are to be found in the Nippon colleges and schools.

One day in August, 1904, there was held in Tokyo a meeting attended by a majority of the sixty Chinese girls then carrying on their educational work in the girls' schools of that city. To see those young ladies of China mounting a public platform was certainly a novel sight. But what they said upon that occasion was still more amazing. In their modest way, they had just formed an association for the purpose of accomplishing something that would have shocked even the most extravagant immodesty of the most ambitious statesman of China. In a word, they had united in order that they might work for the abolition, once for all, of the evil custom called the "golden lily," which tyrannizes over the women of China with a refinement of cruelty worthy of Nero; which tortures the tender years of their girlhood with an excruciating pain that does not cease even in the hours of sleep; which threatens the freedom of motion in their maturer years; and which totally destroys the grace and form of their feet. But these Chinese girl students did not content themselves with smashing the ancient sense of propriety by thus haranguing a public audience; for the association actually went so far as to print, in pamphlet form, the addresses made by the students, and to send the copies of their speeches home for distribution among the women of China. Such acts as these are certainly a far cry from the action of Chinese women generally, and particularly as the latter are understood by the people of the Western hemisphere.

All over China, schools for girls as well as for boys are springing up to-day; and many Nippon women, graduates of the various normal schools of Japan, have been engaged by the Chinese viceroys to instruct in their schools. For years, Chang Chihtung has looked to popular education as the means of accomplishing the thing of greatest importance to China, namely, the awakening of nationalism in the minds of her people; and education is now beginning to bear the desired fruit. "The Chinaman has no fatherland, he has a native district. He has no nation, he has a family. He has no state, he has a society. He has no sovereign, he has only Government officials." So wrote Alexander Ular not many months ago. He should have written it ten years ago.

Now that the guardianship of the territorial integrity of the Chinese empire has been committed not only to England and America, but to Nippon as well, and to the latter particularly, China may, with peace of mind, work for her own military salvation. In fact, we have already heard of the return to China of Yin-Tchang, the Chinese Minister at Berlin. Yin-Tchang has been appointed to an important post under General Yuan Shi-kai, Viceroy of Pe-chi-li, to create the army of the New China.

China has seen, on her own ground, two great Powers conduct a great war; and the bitter days of the Boxer trouble were not without good lessons for the men of her army. But, unquestionably, the greatest lessons in the conduct of war that China has ever learned have come to her through her students living in a number of cities of Nippon while the recent war was in progress. Those young Chinese students were thus placed in a position to see for themselves the fire of patriotism which is the life of our army; the sacrifices our people have been willing to make, both enthusiastically and cheerfully; how they arose as one individual for the defense of the honor of the empire; and with what care our Government conducted even the most trivial of the many thousand details of the campaign. These students are going back to Hupeh, to Szechuen, to Peking, and to the provinces of the south; and they are to become the prophets and apostles of the New China.

Now the Powers of the world may turn to China, as Sir Robert Peel once did to the merchants of London, and say, "What favor can we show you?" And the New China can say, without a tremor in her voice, as the London merchants said to Sir Robert, "Let us alone!" And very likely they will.

WU TING FANG [1]

China, as is well known, is an ancient and conservative nation. She has existed for many thousands of years. She has seen the rise and fall of many ancient empires and republics. She saw Egypt ascend to the zenith of her power, and later she witnessed Rome extending her dominions and becoming the greatest Power of the earth. She was a spectator when those nations and others, one by one, either fell or disappeared. All this time China stood intact, and she still remains a nation, practically without dismemberment.

It will be interesting to inquire why such an old nation has existed undivided while her contemporaries, one by one, have crumbled to pieces. Many causes have been given from time to time for this, but, in my opinion, the most important factor was the fact that she had shut herself up for many centuries and did not interfere with the affairs of other nations. Her people applied themselves wholly to the internal affairs of the nation. The people were dependent upon the resources of the country and were contented. They were home-loving and patriotic. It was considered a dangerous thing to travel abroad, hence the people of China, up to a recent period, were most reluctant to leave their country.

It may be asked, What led the people to be contented with their native land and to dislike to go abroad? It was due to the universal love of the Chinese for their homestead. The place where their ancestors were born, and had lived and died, where their parents were born, and where they themselves had been brought up, they dearly loved. The soil of their land was fertile and rich, and they could produce all they wanted, so there was no necessity for them to leave their

[1] Reprinted by permission from an address delivered by Dr. Wu Ting Fang before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, in Philadelphia, December 14, 1909.

fatherland. Thus the people had every inducement to remain in their own country. Their system of ethics taught them to be loyal to the emperor, filial to their parents, affectionate to their brothers and sisters, and faithful to their friends. With these teachings they were brought up, and as there were practically no strangers in their land they did not know any other system of morals superior to their own. In course of time they became patriotic, honest, and hard-working people. If their nation had not been disturbed by outside influences they would have remained to this day in the same condition. They were, however, not allowed to do so. The door of their country was opened by force of circumstances, and aliens and foreigners from different parts of the world had to be admitted.

The importance of this step was not at first realized, and for several decades the Government pursued its traditional policy without any change. It was thought that what had been good for the country for several thousands of years was surely good and would last for all time; but after numerous sad experiences the officials and others began to find out that though their ancient systems of government and civilization were in many respects equal, if not superior, to those of the West, yet in view of the altered conditions they were obliged to change their policy and learn something from the people of the West. Especially within the last few years the whole nation, high and low, has been awakened and aroused. Many important changes and reforms have been made in different directions.

Take, for instance, our old system of literary examinations for official appointments, which had existed for many centuries. It has recently been entirely remodeled, new regulations have been drawn up and are now in force. The candidates, many of whom have received foreign education, are now examined on modern subjects. I feel sure that in the course of time the officials of China, recruited from such men, will be entirely different from those of a few years ago; and will compare favorably with the statesmen of other countries in ability and in knowledge not only of their own country, but of foreign affairs, also.

The army in China has within the last few years been reorganized. The men have been instructed and drilled under competent tutors. The national curse of opium-smoking is being handled in a most energetic way. The conscience of the public has been aroused on this subject, and the people, high and low, are determined to get rid of this pernicious habit.

There are many other sanitary reforms, too numerous for me to mention here, but I feel confident that in a few years China will no longer be dubbed the "sick man of the far East," but will become a modern nation like her great neighbor, Japan.

It may be noted in passing that if China should become a strong power in the world it would never be a source of trouble to other nations, or be a "yellow peril," as some people seem to fear. Those who think otherwise are greatly mistaken. They do not understand our people. The Chinese are by nature and education a peace-loving people. The essence of the Confucian system is that right, and not might, is king; not the strong and the powerful, but the just and the virtuous ruler or people must prevail. They have all been taught to reverence righteousness and peace, and to denounce injustice and force.

Their past and present conduct at home and abroad will confirm what I say. What has been done within the past few years to put our army on a proper footing, and the intention of our Government to take steps for reorganizing our navy, should not in the least create suspicion in other nations. The aim of our Government is solely for defensive purposes and to preserve peace in our territories. This is testified to by many facts. In any movement having for its object the preservation of peace China has gladly joined; and in many cases where international questions arose our Government willingly offered to submit them to arbitration by disinterested parties or by a tribunal, though without success.

It is to be admitted that in the field of human activity the Occident surpasses the Orient. The manner in which the Western nations have unlocked the secrets of nature and harnessed her forces must excite the admiration of the East. But, while our people have a great deal to learn from the

Western nations, the people of the West should not disdain to gain a little from the East. An old nation like China, which has stood for thousands of years, must possess some good quality to account for her stability. The keystone to our arch of morality has been the virtue of filial piety, and it has not been inaptly expressed by some writers that it is due to our faithful observance of the fifth commandment of the Christian religion that our days have been long in the land which Heaven has given to us. Another moral character of our people is their probity and honesty. If our moral character and habits and institutions were studied by the people of the West, just as much as we study theirs, much benefit would accrue to both sides.

A CHINESE CAMBRIDGE-MAN

Never has Europe met with a more interesting and startling problem than that of the new era commencing in China, that prehistoric state which, though now a veritable piece of oriental antiquity, was once the "Flower of the East." It is a flower the pricelessness of whose seed defies all doubt. That her people are intelligent, self-respecting, and hard-working nobody can deny. Her civilization, of time immemorial origin, although with many faults and peculiarities, is a civilization nevertheless; only, it has at last come face to face with its more modern Occidental rival, and is now left to choose between total destruction and accepting those severe mortifications that are being forced upon her. Evidently, she is choosing the second alternative, and the world is awaiting the result.

However, it may be wondered that modern science has not received its due recognition sooner. The intrinsic power of modern science, both terrible and attractive, and, in fact, irresistible, would at once have made a great impression upon a people of much less intelligence than ours. It could not but raise our curiosity, the result of which would be a closer inquiry, and hence would lead us into the understanding of the West. How was it possible, then, that we should remain seemingly blind for at least half a century of close intercourse with Europe?

It would be wrong to say that we were not impressed by the newcomers. For, indeed, even at the time of the Opium War we were considerably annoyed at finding ourselves not a match for those "unimportant barbarians of the sea." But as the relation remained more or less purely commercial, nothing much was done before the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was only after the conclusion of the Civil War (the Taiping Rebellion) that we began to notice the strange surroundings that were encroaching upon us day by day; and to realize, too, that the blue-eyed and yellow-haired people knew something more than merely money-making.

Many intelligent Chinese of that time who had the opportunity of observing closely and at first hand the Western methods of civilization were entirely convinced of the superiority of the latter, the Marquis Tseng, for example, who, being the son of Tseng Kwob Fan—that distinguished general and thoughtful philosopher, above all, the greatest writer China had in the last century—was carefully educated by his father, and may therefore be called Chinese of the Chinese. Yet he (the Marquis), after being ambassador to the Court of St. James's, became the most progressive man of his time. The greater part of his writings, however, were suppressed by his family for their own interest, so that it is difficult to say to what extent he understood Western ideas; but, judging from what he did, it is evident that he was entirely converted. The fact that he gave his daughter in marriage to his secretary, an Englishman, is sufficient proof of this. Nor was he the only one who held enlightened views: Kweh Sung Tuo, for instance, who has also been ambassador to England, was his great friend and supporter.

But the mass—I mean that of the thinking class—was not so ready to submit prejudice to reason, and therefore the nation as a whole has had to suffer on account of a few. *Amour propre* has been the chief and almost only cause of our pursuing persistently our old course. We could have learned much, but we would not. All the time recognizing that foreigners have much to teach us, and much that we should like to know, we could not for a moment think it possible to stoop

to receive instruction from others: we have always been intellectually, if not politically, independent in the East. While secretly admiring, and even longing to possess that which the Europeans knew, we were inventing a thousand and one stories and prejudices to satisfy our own vanity and conceit.

It has, perhaps, never been fully understood by European observers that we were placed on quite a different intellectual standpoint from that of the Japanese. Japan was used to receiving outside influence. Once the Europeans proved to them their superiority, they had no difficulty in adapting themselves to the new state of things, just as they did years ago in adopting Chinese ideas. We were different: we were not used to receiving lessons from others. True it is that Buddhism came to us from India; but then it came mingled with religious enthusiasm, and only acquired its power through centuries of struggle, while its philosophy was almost unknown to us until the ninth century, when under the T'ang Dynasty great freedom of thought was granted. Therefore, cursed with the weakness of overestimating our own qualities, we would not change from a teacher to a pupil.

Never, therefore, was a greater service done to our country than that disastrous war with Japan. China was then really humbled, humbled to an extent she never knew before; for though she was beaten by Europeans over and over again, she was not well prepared, and the engagements were hardly anything like a battle. But not so in the war with Japan: we had a better fleet, which was then considered very efficient by Europeans, and our army, though of less repute, was well armed at least; and besides, the Japanese army was then very insignificant. Yet we were beaten! Before the war we thought that the whole power of Europe was built on cannon, battleships, and machines; so we hastened to buy and even to manufacture these things, imagining that we had nothing more to learn from the West. At least, so thought most of the great men in China then, among whom Li Hung Chang stood prominent. Had we been winners in the war, our conceit would have been immeasurably increased, and there would have been no hope of our ever inquiring into the Western life,

still less of appreciating its value. Happily for us, we lost, and the loss opened our eyes. They were so unmistakably opened that even the sternest of reactionaries could not fail to notice that it was something more than mere machines which made the West so powerful, and that we must pay some attention to this or else forfeit our country.

Of late, Europe has been startled by the news that the Chinese Government has taken great steps toward a change. It has reorganized the army, established schools and colleges, sent students abroad, abolished the useless State examinations, founded new boards and offices, and even gone so far as to send a Commission abroad to study the constitutions of the Powers. A parliament has been talked of, opium has been prohibited, and a hundred other things have been done: all these events, either truly or with exaggeration, have been received with great attention in Europe.

Our friends here seem to think that we Orientals can perform miracles; that we can achieve in a few months what Europe has only achieved after years of struggle and bloodshed; and that our Government will be so disinterested and generous as to give the people entire freedom at the expense of its own advantages and class privileges. Surely, a little knowledge of history will enable them to see that the road to progress, in its very nature, can not be shortened even by the length of a step. The Chinese are, after all, but flesh and blood, and can not, therefore, be excepted from those laws which have been proved over and over again in European history. Governments are conservative by nature, and especially such a one as ours. Every national movement is originated by the "knowing" people of the nation, and forced upon its Government after it has been well spread among the masses. All the pretenses which the Chinese Government has made lately can be traced to the people. These pretenses were intended not so much to throw dust into the eyes of the foreigners as to quiet the discontent which had been manifesting itself throughout the country. The revolutionary movement was too strong for the weak Government, and our rulers saw that if they rested inactive the opposite movement would be irresistible; and that by grasping

too much they would lose their privileges altogether. All their promises were aimed at giving the moderate element among the agitating crowd a hope of obtaining liberty without violence. I do not mean, however, that anything hitherto done by the Chinese Government has had no salutary effects. On the contrary, the abolition of gross abuses has helped us toward real freedom, although the Government did not foresee the consequence.

Enough has been said, I think, to guard us against attaching too much importance to the actions of the Government. The real salvation of China lies with her people, not her Government, and to look for it we must pay more attention to their social movements, which are, after all, the chief factors in any political change. I will, therefore, endeavor to show, to the best of my ability, the important changes in social organization, customs, and sentiments in China during the last ten years.

First and foremost among these changes came the development of the Press. True it is that there has always been a sort of official newspaper published in Peking; but it was miserably printed and contained nothing but edicts and official appointments. In some respects it resembled the *London Gazette* of the seventeenth century. There was no article and no discussion of any kind. No one, except those who were expecting appointments, ever dreamed of reading it. Before the Chino-Japanese War two daily papers were published in Shanghai: the *Sin-pao* and the *Sin-min-chung-pao*. They had some resemblance to a newspaper, but they were badly written and worse printed. There was a weak and timorous leading article—the editor dared not say anything beyond what was metaphorical—and the news was more or less local and hardly worth reading. Their readers were consequently very few. In my native town, where there were sixty thousand people (out of whom at least three thousand could read), only one copy of the *Sin-pao* was to be found. The privileged reader of this solitary copy was, of course, an exceptionally well-read man. I remember well, when the war with Japan was going on, how people used to flock to his residence for news, and how they expressed their indignation and disbelief

when a defeat on our side was announced. The paper was sent to him weekly, and often arrived at its destination after a delay of three or four weeks, although we were within a night's journey of Shanghai, where it was published. The fact is, there was not a single Government post-office in my town then, and the papers were delivered by a merchant's agent, who not only read them first, but circulated them among his friends and relations before finally putting them into the hands of the original subscriber. To-day, what a contrast! In the same town two hundred copies of the above-mentioned paper are sold, besides many other journals.

The number of newspapers has increased with amazing rapidity within the last decade. In Peking, where no newspapers existed before 1902, there are now ten; and—most surprising of all—one of these is edited by a woman. In all the large provincial towns—even in such a one as Tai-yuan-foo in Shan-se, which is situated so far from the coast that until recently the difficulty of communication has been extreme—local papers are published. It is at Shanghai, however, that these palpitators of public opinion abound. Under the protection of the settlement, they are free from interference by the officials, and, taking this advantage, the editor's attitude has become easy and bold. The result of this is that not only is the increase in numbers great, but the improvements which some of these papers have undergone within a short period is amazing. Take, for example, the *Chong-wai-tse-pao* (the *Universal Gazette*), which was founded about 1898, under a management that was shocking in the extreme. Five years ago it had only four pages, but now it has twelve. It has special correspondents all over China, and all the news is sent by wire. Important news is printed in large type and neatly arranged in order of the provinces. The leading articles are very outspoken and bold. They are probably of very little literary value, but this is arranged expressly for the purpose of widening its circulation among the less-educated classes. Foreign news is not neglected. Though it has no special correspondents in Europe, it has one in Japan, and voluntary contributions from our students in Europe (which are plentiful) are eagerly sought after and carefully chosen.

No less well-organized is the *Tse-pao* (the *Eastern Times*). In fact, as far as internal politics are concerned, no newspapers in Europe or in Japan are so well informed. Its managers spare neither pains nor expense to "fish out" those secrets which the Government wishes to keep, and their achievements toward this end are a continuous history of remarkable "scoops." Long before the New Tibetan Treaty was signed every article in it was published and analyzed. The details of the administrative reform of last September and the appointment of the new Viceroy of Manchuria appeared two clear months before the edicts were out. Then, besides politics, many interesting topics are discussed. Serial and short stories are published: some of them are translations of well-known works in English or French, but more frequently we find in them satires written in a form calculated to expose the rottenness of the existing Government and Legislature.

Parallel with the improvements in newspapers runs the increase in the number of books and periodicals. All sorts of monthly and fortnightly reviews have literally sprung into existence, and new books come out by the score every month, most of them being translations of works on politics, history, philosophy, laws, science, and arts. In the periodicals party spirit sometimes runs very high, and two papers of different parties—for instance, the *Min-pao* (the *People*), which is conducted by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the well-known revolutionary leader, and the *Sin-min-chung-pao* (the *New People*), the organ of Mr. K'wang Yu Wei, the great reformer—will often engage in a hot debate over questions of burning importance.

The effects of this great change for the better in the Press are innumerable and somewhat difficult to analyze. Some idea, however, may be derived from the following description. Ten years ago, to take for illustration the facts in my own town as I have done above, there was no such thing as a reading public. This has been created solely by the Press. In those days the publication of a new book was most rare. The books published were reprints of the classics, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a few translations of scientific text-books. As with all such books, their circulation was very limited. The majority of those who can read seldom

go beyond the popular novels such as: "The History of the Three Kingdoms," and "The Heroes of the Isle." Nobody ever troubled himself about politics. During the Chino-Japanese War very few people had any clear idea of the events. We knew, of course, that we were disagreeably beaten, but as to how, why, when, or where we had not the slightest idea. At that time, the Government was nothing to the people. Not one in ten thousand could name the Ministers of State or the Governors and Viceroys of the different provinces, much less discuss their actions and characters. To-day, even a schoolboy can give you a fairly accurate account of the late Russo-Japanese War; and a village teacher, who has probably never been outside his native village, talks with enthusiasm about the coming Constitution, the Educational Policy, the change of the important officials, etc., etc. The influence of the Press, therefore, is immense, and the members of the Government are not slow to realize that they are being handicapped very much in their old tyrannical ways. They are trying every means to get the papers under their own control —but they will never succeed.

Perhaps the persons most influenced by the Press are the provincial officials. Not only do they often get blame thrown upon them by their more powerful brothers in the central Government, but also, being situated not so much in a cluster, they are more liable to be selected for individual criticism. Only a few months ago the Viceroy of Nankin was attacked. He was so troubled that he actually descended from his high pedestal and wrote a letter to the paper explaining the motives of his measure—a thing never heard of in China before! The petty provincial officers, also, are now under the watchful eyes of a reporter. In the good old times they could practise the most extraordinary injustices and yet not be found out by their superiors. The people so ill-used had no means of getting redress except that of directly petitioning the Governor or the Viceroy, which as a rule was worse for the petitioner, and often meant his ruin. Nowadays, a farthing stamp will bring a letter before the editor of an influential paper, which will most probably be read by the Viceroy or Governor of the province. If his statement is not contradicted by the

person in question, an inquiry will most likely be held, unless the accused is a man of untainted reputation or the Governor exceptionally blind.

A very pleasant fact is that the morale of the Press runs very high, except in the official organs and some of the local papers. All the leading papers are free from corruptions of any kind. Let me cite an example in proof of this. Some time ago the *Chong-wai-tse-pao* came into possession of some facts concerning the secret relations of an ex-Ambassador to Russia. This ex-official came to the editor and offered him £2,000; but, to his regret, he was promptly refused and exposed all the more vigorously, which settled his hope of getting a new appointment.

The influence of the reviews is somewhat different. They are the medium through which new ideas and theories are transmitted; not being exclusively occupied with politics, their scope is wider. Unlike the daily papers, they are extremely well written, and a few of them are of great literary value. The editors of the *Min-pao* (the *People*) and the *Sin-min-chung-pao* (the *New People*) are universally acknowledged to be the two greatest Chinese writers now living. Most of the editors and contributors, moreover, know at least one foreign language, which very visibly influences their writings for the better. Without losing the best element of Chinese literature, they are changing the style and, to some extent, even the construction of the Chinese language. New terms and phrases are created almost every day, the result being that Chinese prose is becoming "less majestic, less artfully involved, less variously musical, than that of an earlier age, but more lucid, more easy, and better fitted for controversy and narrative."

Very closely connected with the development of the Press is the amelioration of internal communication. The number of letters sent through the Post Office increased twenty-five per cent. in 1905. This was rendered possible by the opening of the railways. In the south and southeast, where the rivers are navigable, steamers have long been in use, but the difficulty of intercourse in Central China was very great indeed. Since the opening of the Peking-Hankow railway this difficulty has

been partly removed. This is by no means only a commercial improvement. The quick transit of intelligence of all kinds to the north has done wonders in the way of opening up the minds of the people.

By the establishment of public schools, the diffusion of education is daily increasing. This is noticed by the most casual observer, but the difference between the old and the new learning is difficult even for ourselves to realize. First of all, there is an entirely different method of education. The average teacher of the old days went no further than giving us a very elementary idea of history and literature, and those desiring a higher education had to conduct their own studies themselves at their own expense. Oftentimes we found a man who, having obtained his first degree in the state examinations, wished to further his knowledge in classical and literary works, but despairing at the appalling sight of those thousands of volumes which he must digest all by himself with only the help of a dictionary. It is true that there were great teachers with crowds of students, or rather disciples, around them, but these teachers were very scarce, because they had to be men of great ability and attainments. This great difficulty of finding good direct instruction explains the huge regard and affection which every Chinese had for his teacher.

Perhaps in no other branch of studies so much as mathematics is the difficulty of self-instruction so vividly exemplified. It used to be the death of many who possessed a special taste for the science of numbers. They had only books to teach them and their labor was consequently tenfold. The late Professor Hua, one of China's greatest mathematicians, if not the greatest, told us in his "Memoirs" that he learned addition and subtraction entirely by himself. He read all the works and translations on the subject with a care that is incredible, and achieved his ambition only after forty years of hard work. At first he had to make a pair of compasses for himself, and he used to spend sleepless nights in solving a problem. But he was by no means the only example. Many men, whose physique was not strong enough, died of overwork. To-day, in the schools, however imperfect they may

be, students receive actual instruction—a luxury never known to us before!

Again, there is a great difference between the subjects learned under the old and the new systems. The old state examinations consisted of an artificial system of literature which enslaved the students into drudgery and retarded the formation of true prose. The so-called educated class knew nothing beyond elementary Chinese history and literature, and the world outside was a dead letter to them. To-day in the schools (private or public) elementary sciences are taught and one foreign language at least is compulsory. Geography, history, and literature are methodically if not intelligently taught, and the general ignorance of things has entirely disappeared. In many schools sports and drill are considered essential, and the customary defect in the student's physique has now vanished.

Last, but not least, the parents' purpose in sending their children to school is very different from what it was. We have never understood what real education meant. We learned to write and read simply because the state examinations demanded it. Indeed a child was not allowed by most parents to learn anything but reading and writing. I remember well that ten years ago I was severely handled for trying to make figures on paper. My mother was so frightened that she ordered everything that could possibly attract my attention to this subject to be removed. Therefore those who were not ambitious did not need to go very far, and they did not go far. A merchant or a shopkeeper could hardly write a commercial letter, because to keep the books was all that his situation required. To teach an apprentice anything more than arithmetic and bookkeeping was then horribly ridiculous. The idea of educating a man morally, physically, and intellectually to make him a good citizen never entered our heads. Learning was only regarded as an indispensable means of going into official life, and was therefore totally confined to this class. To-day we send our sons to school mainly for the sake of education. Whatever calling in life they may choose, they must know something more than what their profession demands. If they do their work well they have every hope

of being sent abroad to be further educated at the expense of their school, and failing to achieve this, it will not be too late for them to enter on a commercial or other such life that suits them.

Next in importance to the development of the Press and education is the growth of a new system of industry. The world is accustomed to call us industrious and diligent, but there exists in China a most idle and good-for-nothing class of people. I refer to the aristocracy of the country. Being sons of officials or ex-officials, or their relations, any sort of activity is a disgrace to them. Thinking, no doubt, like Benjamin Franklin's servant, that "the only gentleman in the world is a pig," they went so far as to grow long nails and wear long robes in order to show how incapable and unfitted they were for work.

On the other hand, the station of the merchant is very low. When he is poor, he is little better than an agricultural laborer. When he is rich, he is liable to be insulted, robbed, or blackmailed by the official class, and this is the chief reason why the Chinese emigrants in America are afraid to come home after having made their fortunes. By degrees, however, their importance is being felt, and the proud aristocracy are beginning to feel uneasy. They may still retain their dignity, they may make their importance felt, they may rest idle all day long, but they can not live half so comfortably as those merchants whom they despise. To enter into the state service is not an easy matter, for the supply far exceeds the demand: the misery of those waiting for appointments is proverbial. They now look around and begin to think whether it is not a mistake to let others make money and themselves to starve. The Press is daily urging the importance of exploring mineral wealth, building factories, and creating new industries. The few of their class who have had the opportunity of traveling represent to them pleasant pictures of the corresponding class in other countries, where every man tries to do his share. All these forces combine to direct their attention to an active life; and, to do them justice, quite a number of them have begun devoting themselves to some occupation. The following serves for an illustration:

Chang Gien, a native of T'ung-chow, being a *Chong Yuan* (the Senior Wrangler in the examination for the Han-lin or third degree), was entitled to some great Government post, but instead he returned to his native province and there erected a cotton factory. This caused a great scandal in the whole province, and his relations were astonished and disgusted. The affair was the chief topic of talk and gossip for months in the neighboring towns and everybody condemned him as being mad and unbecoming his high dignity. But in spite of all he went on with his work quietly, and with sufficient capital he introduced the most up-to-date system of manufacturing cotton goods. After nine years of hard labor he now employs 2,500 hands, and realized in 1905 a net profit of £50,000 sterling. T'ung-chow, which ranked among the poorest towns in the province, is now one of the chief industrial centers, and will soon be opened to foreign commerce, not as a "treaty port," but as a free market. Mr. Chang is now the most influential man in the province, and nobody attempts any enterprise without first obtaining his advice. He is the president of a railway company, of the Association of Printers and Publishers, and of the Chamber of Commerce, all of which are of recent formation. Once the spell is broken, every man is following his example, and what a blessing this is to us! A modern industry can not flourish if the prospects are not secure, and the security of an enterprise is diminished in inverse ratio to its importance in a country where blackmail and official interference are so frequent. An enterprise undertaken by a member of the aristocracy is therefore the only one that can stand firm: even a viceroy risks his position by daring to interfere with it. The ex-Viceroy of Canton lost his place through acting directly against the local gentry.

Another sign of the times is the desire for cooperation. Hitherto, limited companies and syndicates have been most scarce. Everybody believed in conducting his own business, and with his own capital. But now we realize the impossibility of creating modern industry without extensive trust, and every new enterprise is being undertaken by a company. This development, however, is only in its infancy and awaits improvement.

No less important is the change of national customs and habits. The anti-foot-binding movement has been successful beyond expectation. Hardly five years have passed since this movement became general, and already thousands, even tens of thousands, are liberated from this abominable custom. Without the slightest exaggeration it may be said that children now under ten years are entirely free from this torture. The progress of the anti-opium movement is less rapid, but it is going on steadily. It is hoped, nay, it is certain, that before long the higher classes will be free from this filthy habit; but to get it out of sight altogether is another matter. The cause of this vice among the higher classes is different from that among the lower. The former smoked opium because they had nothing better to do; the latter did it because they wanted something to make them insensible to their misery. As soon as the former have regular occupations, they are bound to let this idle habit go; but the latter, whose position can not be improved for years to come, will find it difficult to break off. Even if they are compelled to abstain from this vice, another habit equally bad will surely take its place. In this respect, opium smoking is exactly like drinking in this country. Public opinion can easily prevent the successor to the Earl of Chatham from getting through half a dozen bottles of champagne in one night, but it can not keep a workman away from his habitual public-house.

All these things certainly make a pleasant picture; but I am no optimist. While society shows unmistakable symptoms of progress, the miseries of the general public caused by maladministration are unspeakable. We are now suffering from the worst possible financial crisis. The madness of a few Manchus made us pay sixty-five millions sterling, together with six millions sterling interest, to be paid yearly. The central Government has no other financial policy than to demand the money from the Viceroys or the Provincial Governors, and the latter in their turn demand it from the people by increasing the taxation (direct or indirect). When they fail in this resource, they start coining base copper coins from their own mint—trying to call a penny a sixpence and imagining themselves richer. The result of this is an utter confusion of the

currency, which has been a complicated question for a long time. The price of food, especially rice, has doubled in the course of the last decade. The population has increased far out of proportion to industry. The sudden extension of the use of steamers in the navigable rivers, and the opening of the railways, have thrown quite a considerable number of men out of work. In a word, there is no work, and thousands of men are unable to earn a living in spite of their endurance and diligence.

The Government is always short-sighted, always without any definite policy, and always crowded with men who are seeking after their own interest and making the situation worse by their presence. They talk of encouraging commerce, but put fresh obstacles in its way daily. They issued a code of commercial laws, but violated them themselves immediately after the publication. They created new industries (such as the factories at Wu-Chang) and new official posts which cost millions and brought no profit to anybody. They put an official at the head of a private enterprise which had every prospect of success, so that the well-deserved distrust might drive away the capitalists. In short, the thousand and one follies and crimes committed by the Government render the lives of the lower classes (the workmen, peasants, and artizans) miserable beyond description.

It always astonishes me that while the Press in Europe daily exposes the rottenness of the existing Chinese Government, it does its best to uphold it. Whenever there is a slight movement against the Government, be it anti-dynastic or revolutionary, intervention is at once talked of, as if the great struggle for the freedom of four hundred million souls were nothing more than a football match which can not go on without a referee. How can your sympathies be sincere when you wish to keep us under the yoke of a political institution which you so much despise? Have not Western nations done enough of wrong, and is it not unwise to add to them the most cruel and most unpardonable of all wrongs—the preventing of the people from getting their liberty? If Western nations do really want to bridge the already too wide gulf that separates us, let them leave us alone and see whether

evolution will not be stronger than conservatism, and whether the natural sequence of such a gigantic renaissance will not follow its course as it has done in the history of every civilized nation.

THE SOURCE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

DISCOVERY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE GREEK ALPHABET AND OF ALL EUROPEAN CULTURE

A.D. 1905

JAMES BAIKIE D. G. HOGARTH

The remarkable archeological discoveries of the last few years have naturally aroused vast enthusiasm among scientists. As a noted writer recently expressed it: "If the Elizabethan age was the period of the discovery of new worlds, a period bright with all the romance and fascination of man's adventure into the unknown, our own age may be defined as the period of the resurrection of ancient worlds. The romance of the explorations which have given back to us the buried civilizations of Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Crete, and Asia Minor has in its own way been almost as thrilling as that which marked the discoveries of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro."

In a field such as this, where one discovery follows constantly upon the heels of another, it is not easy to select the date of one particular discovery as marking a climax above others. But our scientific friends urge upon us that the real epoch-making achievement has been the establishment of the fact that Greek culture originated in Crete, and that even the alphabetical writing of the Greeks came to them not from the Phenicians but from the Cretans. Mr. Arthur Evans showed this in 1905 by his book telling of his Cretan explorations. King Minos and his palace at Cnossus in Crete have for our generation taken the place of Cadmus of Thebes or Cecrops of Athens as the earliest sources of European civilization.

To the account of Evans's explorations taken from Mr. Baikie's "Sea-Kings of Crete," we add the resumé of the new knowledge of Greece by Mr. Hogarth, himself one of the most distinguished scholars and explorers in this field.

JAMES BAIKIE

THE resurrection of the prehistoric age of Greece, and the disclosure of the astonishing standard of civilization which had been attained on the mainland and in the isles of the Ægean at a period at least 2,000 years earlier than that at which Greek history, as hitherto understood, begins, may be reckoned as among the most interesting results of modern

research into the relics of the life of past ages. The present generation has witnessed remarkable discoveries in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, but neither Niffur nor Abydos disclosed a world so entirely new and unexpected as that which has been revealed by the work of Schliemann and his successors at Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, and by that of Evans and the other explorers—Italian, British, and American—in Crete. The Mesopotamian and Egyptian discoveries traced back a little farther streams which had already been followed far up their course; those of Schliemann and Evans revealed the reality of one which, so to speak, had hitherto been believed to flow only through the dreamland of legend. It was obvious that mighty men must have existed before Agamemnon, but what manner of men they were, and in what manner of world they lived, were matters absolutely unknown, and, to all appearances, likely to remain so.

But now the dark gulf of time that lay behind the Dorian conquest is beginning to yield up the unquestionable evidences of a great, and splendid, and almost incredibly ancient civilization, which neither for its antiquity nor for its actual attainment has any cause to shrink from comparison with the great historic civilizations of Mesopotamia or the Nile Valley; and while the process of disentangling the historic nucleus of the legends from their merely mythical and romantic elements can not yet be undertaken with any approach to certainty, it is becoming continually more apparent, not only that in many cases there was such a nucleus, but also what were some of the historic elements around which the poetic fancy of later times drew the fanciful wrapping of the heroic tales as we know them.

It is not yet possible to trace and identify the actual figures of the heroes of prehistoric Greece: probably it never will be possible, unless the as yet untranslated Cretan script should furnish the records of a more ancient Herodotus, and a new Champollion should arise to decipher them; but there can scarcely be any reasonable doubt that genuine men and women of Ægean stock filled the rôles of these ancient romances, and that the wondrous story of their deeds is, in part at least, the record of actual achievements.

In this remarkable resurrection of the past the most important and convincing part has been played by the evidence from Crete. The discoveries which were made during the last quarter of the nineteenth century by Schliemann and his successors at Mycenæ, Tiryns, Orchomenos, and elsewhere, were quite conclusive as to the former existence of a civilization quite equal to, and in all probability the original of, that which is described for us in the Homeric poems; but it was not until the treasures of Cnossos and Phæstos began to be revealed in 1900 and the subsequent years that it became manifest that what was known as the Mycenæan civilization was itself only the decadence of a far richer and fuller culture, whose fountain-head and whose chief sphere of development had been in Crete. And it has been in Crete that exploration and discovery have led to the most striking illustration of many of the statements in the legends and traditions, and have made it practically certain that much of what used to be considered mere romantic fable represents, with, of course, many embellishments of fancy, a good deal of historic fact.

"The first King known to us by tradition as having established a navy is Minos," says the great Athenian historian. The Minoan empire, like that of England, rested upon sea-power; its great Kings were the Sea-Kings of the ancient world—the first Sea-Kings known to history, overlords of the Ægean long before "the grave Tyrian trader" had learned "the way of a ship in the sea," or the land-loving Egyptian had ventured his timid squadrons at the command of a great Queen so far as Punt. And so the fortifications of their capital and palace were not of the huge gypsum blocks which they knew so well how to handle and work. They were the wooden walls, the long low black galleys with the vermilion bows, and the square sail, and the creeping rows of oars, that lay moored or beached at the mouth of the Kairatos River, or cruised around the island coast, keeping the Minoan peace of the Ægean. So long as the war-fleet of Minos was in being, Cnossos needed no fortifications. No expedition of any size could force a landing on the island. If the crew of a chance pirate-galley, desperate with hunger, or tempted by reports of the wealth of the great palace, succeeded in eluding

the vigilance of the Minoan cruisers and made a swift rush up from the coast, there was the bastion with its armed guard, enough to deal with the handful of men who could be detached for such a dare-devil enterprise. But in the fleet of Cnossos was her fate; and if once the fleet failed, she had no second line of defense on which to rely against any serious attack. There is every evidence that the fleet did fail at last. The manifest marks of a vast conflagration, perhaps repeated more than once during the long history of the palace, and the significant fact that vessels of metal are next to unknown upon the site, while of gold there is scarcely a trace, with the exception of scattered pieces of gold-foil, appear to indicate either that the Minoan Sovereigns failed to maintain the weapon which had made and guarded their empire, or that the Minoan sailors met at last with a stronger fleet or more skilful mariners. Sea-power was lost, and with it everything.

But the Cretan discovery which will doubtless prove in the end to be of greater importance than any other, though as yet the main part of its value is latent, was that of large numbers of clay tablets incised with inscriptions in the unknown script of the Minoans. By the end of March the finding of one tablet near the South Portico gave earnest of future discoveries, and before the season ended over a thousand had been collected from various deposits in the palace. Of these deposits, one contained tablets written in hieroglyphic; but the rest were in the linear script, "a highly developed form, with regular divisions between the words, and for elegance scarcely surpassed by any later form of writing." The tablets vary in shape and size, some being flat, elongated bars from two to seven and a half inches in length, while others are squarer, ranging up to small octavo. Some of them, along with the linear writing, supply illustrations of the objects to which the inscriptions refer. There are human figures, chariots, and horses, cuirasses and axes, houses and barns, and ingots followed by a balance, and accompanied by numerals which probably indicate their value in Minoan talents. It looks as though these were documents referring to the royal arsenals and treasuries. "Other documents, in which neither ciphers nor pictorial illustrations are to be found, may appeal

even more deeply to the imagination. The analogy of the more or less contemporary tablets, written in cuneiform script, found in the Palace of Tell-el-Amarna, might lead us to expect among them the letters from distant governors or diplomatic correspondence. It is probable that some of them are contracts or public acts, which may give some actual formulæ of Minoan legislation. There is, indeed, an atmosphere of legal nicety, worthy of the House of Minos, in the way in which these records were secured. The knots of string which, according to the ancient fashion, stood in the place of locks for the coffers containing the tablets, were rendered inviolable by the attachment of clay seals, impressed with the finely engraved signets, the types of which represented a great variety of subjects, such as ships, chariots, religious scenes, lions, bulls, and other animals. But—as if this precaution was not in itself considered sufficient—while the clay was still wet the face of the seal was countermarked by a controlling official, and the back countersigned and indorsed by an inscription in the same Mycenæan script as that inscribed on the tablets themselves."

The tablets had been stored in coffers of wood, clay, or gypsum. The wooden coffers had perished in the great conflagration which destroyed the palace, and only their charred fragments remained; but the destroying fire had probably contributed to the preservation of the precious writings within, by baking more thoroughly the clay of which they were composed. As yet, in spite of all efforts, it has not proved possible to decipher the inscriptions, for there has so far been no such good fortune as the discovery of a bilingual inscription to do for Minoan what the Rosetta Stone did for Egyptian hieroglyphics. But it is not beyond the bounds of probability that there may yet come to light some treaty between Crete and Egypt which may put the key into the eager searcher's hands, and enable us to read the original records of this long-forgotten kingdom.

Even as it is, the discovery of these tablets has altered the whole conception of the relative ages of the various early beginnings of writing in the eastern Mediterranean area. The Hellenic script is seen to have been in all likelihood no late-

born child of the Phenician, but to have had an ancestor of its own race; and the old Cretan tradition, on which Dr. Evans relied at the commencement of his work, has proved to be amply justified. "In any case," said Dr. Evans, summing up his first year's results, "the weighty question, which years before I had set myself to solve on Cretan soil, has found, so far, at least, an answer. That great early civilization was not dumb, and the written records of the Hellenic world were carried back some seven centuries beyond the date of the first-known historic writings. But what, perhaps, is even more remarkable than this, is that, when we examine in detail the linear script of these Mycenæan documents, it is impossible not to recognize that we have here a system of writing, syllabic and perhaps partly alphabetic, which stands on a distinctly higher level of development than the hieroglyphs of Egypt, or the cuneiform script of contemporary Syria and Babylonia. It is not till some five centuries later that we find the first dated examples of Phenician writing."

Such, then, have been the outstanding results of the excavation of the ancient palace of the Cretan Sea-Kings, so far as it has yet proceeded. Of the wealth of material which has been brought to light much, of course, still waits, and perhaps may long wait, for interpretation. The facts are there, but the significance of them is not always easily discerned. But, at least, the importance of the supreme fact can not be questioned; the emergence of this magnificent relic of a civilization, so great and so advanced as to fill the mind with wonder, so curiously corroborating the ancient legends as to the greatness and power of the House of Minos, and yet so absolutely lost as to have left no trace of itself, save in romantic story, until the patience and skill of present-day explorers restored its relics to the light of day to tell, though as yet only imperfectly, their own tale of splendor and disaster.

The interpretation and coordination of the immense body of material gathered by Dr. Evans must for long be the work of scholars. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that when the Minoan script has at length yielded up its secrets we shall be able to comprehend clearly those historical outlines of the rise and magnificence and fall of a great monarchy and cul-

ture, which at present have to be cautiously and sometimes precariously inferred from the indications afforded by scraps of potsherd and fragments of stone or metal. And then the actual story of the House of Minos will appeal to all. To-day, perhaps, the main impression left on the ordinary student by this resurrection is one of sadness. Here was a kingdom so great and so imposing, a civilization so highly advanced and so full of the joy of living. And it has all passed away and been forgotten, with its vivid life and its hopes and fears; and we can only wonder how life looked to the men and women who peopled the courts of the vast palace, and what part was played by them in the fragments of old legend that have come down to us.

The pathos of this aspect of his discoveries has not been missed by the explorer. Writing of the restoration of the Queen's apartment of the palace, a restoration rendered necessary by the decomposing action of wind and rain on the long-buried materials, Dr. Evans says: "From the open court to the east, and the narrower area that flanks the inner section of the hall, the light pours in between the piers and columns just as it did of old. In cooler tones it steals into the little bathroom behind. It dimly illumines the painted spiral frieze above its white gypsum dado, and falls below on the small terra-cotta bath-tub, standing much as it was left some three and a half millenniums back. The little bath bears a painted design of a character that marks the close of the great 'Palace Style.' By whom was it last used? By a Queen, perhaps, and mother for some 'Hope of Minos'—a hope that failed."

Thus, it is abundantly evident that the civilization of Minoan Crete had varied and perfectly adequate means of expressing itself. The old Cretan tradition that the Phenicians did not invent the letters of the alphabet, but only changed those already existing, is amply justified; for this seems to have been precisely what they did. The Phenician mind, if not original, was at all events practical. The great stumbling-block in the way of the ancient scripts was their complexity—a fault which the Minoan users of the Linear Script, Class B, had evidently already begun to recognize and endeavor to amend. What the Phenicians did was to carry

the process of simplification farther still, and to appropriate for their own use out of the elements already existing around them a conveniently short and simple system of signs. The position which they came to occupy, after the Minoan empire of the sea had passed away, as the great carriers and middlemen of the Mediterranean, gave their system a spread and a utility possible to no other system of writing; and so the Phenician alphabet gradually came to take its place as the basis of all subsequent scripts. Unquestionably it was a great and important service which was thus rendered by them; but, all the same, the beginnings of European writing must be traced not to them, but to their predecessors, the Minoans, and the clay tablets of Cnossos, Phæstos, and Hagia Triada are the lineal ancestors of all the written literature of Europe.

D. G. HOGARTH

The scholar of the old fashion, who quoted with impartiality from his Homer, his Horace, his Vergil, and his Bible, must be a little befogged by the terrific dust which the archeologist's spade has been raising during a generation past. When Grote wrote the history of Greece, what was not literature was not knowledge, and the Hellenist troubled himself no more about a civilization before Agamemnon than about a civilization in the Garden of Eden. Man had, no doubt, been producing things many and strange in the Nile Valley and in Mesopotamia for unnumbered generations, but what had a classical scholar to do with those? Hellenic culture sprang into the world, like an Athene from the head of Zeus, by some miraculous effect of the favorable conditions of the Promised Land upon gifted but undeveloped tribes that had been wandering over Asiatic and European steppes since they left the original seat of the Aryans. But nowadays what is come to this comfortable doctrine? Every six months *The Times* prints from two to three columns of matter concerning ancient cultures of the near East, which Greek literature never mentioned at all, Minoan and Danubian and Hittite; and the writers of the articles evidently regard these cultures as having something, if not everything, to say to the origin of Hellenic civilization. Fuller accounts of the discoveries,

which prompt these articles, appear in specialist periodicals or highly technical books, which, if the old-fashioned scholar consults them, give him information usually provisional and often contradictory. As a plain man, he wants to know where he stands. Evidently the old limitations of his knowledge are no longer those of every one else. But what does the expansion imply? Has the bottom been knocked out of his settled beliefs on the origin of that civilization which matters before all others to an Hellenist? In a word, what does all this recent archeological discovery amount to?

Take first the prehistoric culture of the Ægean, which we never heard of under any other name till a generation ago, nor as Minoan till the last decade. We now know Ægean civilization to have been developed locally from rude neolithic beginnings by an unbroken process of evolution continued throughout the Age of Bronze. But who the Ægean peoples were ethnologically is almost as obscure as ever, and likely to remain so till some happy chance of patient labor brings about the decipherment of the Cretan tablets and the determination of their family of language.

We are no nearer that decipherment. When Mr. Arthur Evans issued the first volume of his *Scripta Minoa* it was seen how little can be done without the help of a bilingual text, or one in some known alphabetic character. Still, the cumulative effect of the discoveries made in Crete leaves no manner of doubt that Minoan culture can stand comparison with the highest contemporary culture of Egypt or Mesopotamia, and that artistically it was more alive and progressive than either of these. So much has been written about the combination of idealistic aim with realistic execution exemplified in the best Ægean work, whether of the first great Minoan period, contemporary with the Egyptian Middle Empire, or of the second and last, contemporary with the Eighteenth Pharaonic Dynasty, that we will only say this: that, even after the Cnossian ivories, faïence figurines, and faïence and plaster reliefs, after the Cnossian and Haghia Triadha frescoes, the Haghia Triadha steatite vases and painted sarcophagus, after the finest "Kamares" pottery and the finer intaglios, the Vaphio goblets and the Mycenæ dagger blades, one was still not prepared

for the bull's head *rhyton*, which Mr. Evans has just described in *The Times*, with its painted transparencies for eyes and its admirable modeling, and the striking contrast between the black polished steatite of the mass and the creamy cameo shell of the inlay work. Let me bear independent witness, so far as one who has seen photographs only can bear it, that the effect is as superbly decorative as it is astonishingly realistic, and that the whole attests, equally with the Mycenæan metallic intarsia work, the preeminence of Ægean artists over Egyptian in the appreciation of color tones.

For actual proof of the probable parentage of the Ægean and the Hellenic cultures we needed more evidence concerning, on the one side, the latest Ægean society, on the other the earliest Hellenic. And more is being gradually collected. Of the first society mainly from Cnossus. Four years ago Mr. Evans let in light on the dark period which followed the destruction of the latest Palace by his exploration of a large and rich cemetery at Zafer Papoura, which contained interments, both of the latest Palace time and of the succeeding epoch. The grave-furniture proved conclusively that Minoan art survived the catastrophe of the Palace practically unaffected by any new influence, but degenerating into formalism by its own natural decay. How far down the centuries these tombs take us toward the Hellenic Age is not certain. The Cnossian Palace was ruined about 1400 B.C., as comparison of its latest relics with Cretan products found in Akhenaten's city at Tell Amarnæ satisfactorily proves. The tombs illustrate a considerable space of time after that, but not any part of the Age of Iron. The latest vases found in them are identical in style with others found at Ialysus in Rhodes, at Enkomi in Cyprus, and on mainland Greek sites; and these vases, if we may judge by progressive degradation of ornament, were the immediate predecessors of the pottery in certain Cretan graves outside Cnossus, wherein both bronze and iron objects occurred. This stage of transition from bronze to iron is the stage in which the Achæan society depicted in Homer seems to be; and if the Achæans are those Aqaiusha who attacked the Egyptians in Rameses III.'s day, as scholars are practically unanimous in believing, they had appeared

with their incipient knowledge of iron in the Ægean by the twelfth century B.C. It seems probable, therefore, that the Zafer Papoura cemetery was in use for burials nearly down to the close of the Bronze Age in Crete, and that the extra-Cnossian graves of the transitional stage between Bronze and Iron carry on the witness of Minoan survival to a period contemporary with the first appearance of an iron-using race in the Ægean. This last must be regarded as the earliest wave of that northern flood which went to form the historic Hellenic people and introduce the cremation of the dead and the fashion of dress which required the *fibula* or safety-pin to secure it on the person—a fashion not depicted by earlier Ægean artists, but proved henceforth to be coming in by the increasing occurrence of *fibulæ* all over the Ægean area.

There is some reason, indeed, to think that the history of mainland Greece had been in several respects not the same as that of Crete even in the Ægean Age. If the Peloponnesian prehistoric cities were certainly importing fine Cretan products in the Later Minoan Period, and were almost certainly at that time tributary to Cnossus, the fact that they were even then strongly fortified shows that they had inland enemies; the scantiness and poverty of their earlier remains indicate that they had not enjoyed the same opportunities for cultural development, but had remained comparatively barbarous, when Crete, in the Middle Minoan Period, was in many respects at the height of its artistic achievement; and our continued failure to find any but the rudest and rarest examples of writing on mainland sites seems to argue that their comparative inferiority in civilization continued to the end of the Ægean Age. More than that, this last piece of negative evidence is held to suggest that the Cretan script was never used on the mainland, and perhaps the Cretan language not commonly understood.

Oriental features in early Ionian art are certain and not hard to discern. The Oriental influences, so called, exerted on the art of mainland Greece, have been argued in the main from different features, and are much less well assured. The whole question of "orientalizing" archaic Greek art needs

revision in the new light of Ægean evidence. Mutual relations between the Minoan society and the Nile Valley, which were remarkably intimate under the Eighteenth Dynasty, can be traced back to the Old Empire. Relations with western Asia appear to have been of almost equally long standing and cultural potency, and are only less well understood because the west Asian area itself is less well explored. But we are learning more of them every year; and so strong has the reaction against the crediting of all light to the East become that several leading authorities have independently supported M. Salomon Reinach in his well-known contention that that light is largely a *mirage orientale*, and that the Mediterranean area taught culture to Asia rather than *vice versa*. Mr. Arthur Evans has hinted strongly, and will state even more explicitly when he publishes his *Scripta Minoa*, his belief that the Semitic alphabets are to be traced ultimately to a Cretan original; and he and others have made out a strong case for the derivation of much of the early art of Philistia and Phenicia from the Ægean. Archeologists are even beginning to suspect that Ægean influence and models penetrated to Mesopotamia, to inspire both the Assyrian and the Chaldean art of the opening of the first millennium B.C. Certain of the ivories, found by Layard in the Palace of Sennacherib at Nimrud, are in a style more akin to the Mycenæan than to any other, and the glyptic art of later Babylonia seems to repeat motives and manners exemplified at an antecedent period in the Ægean area. So likewise in the wide-spread Hittite culture of north Syria and Asia Minor we are noticing more and more Ægean affinities—in the structural plans of the palatial buildings, in the ceramic types, in the fashion of armament (*e.g.*, the "figure of eight" shield), and in the general spirit and certain particular details of sculptured monuments, such as the Kara Bel and Ivrez reliefs. Instead of regarding Cyprus as the first westward stage on the road of Phenician evangelists, we now see that it was the last eastward stage in the Ægean evangelization of Phenicia; and some one will have to rewrite that volume of Professor Perrot's *History of Art in Antiquity*, wherein the products of an island, non-Phenician in its language, its script, and its religious nomenclature, and

never demonstrably colonized by Semites till the classical age (and then but in one small district), are quoted as the chief documents for Phenician art.

This reconsideration in the light of the Ægean evidence will make us pause before accepting Eastern sources as directly responsible for all, or nearly all, of what have been called the "orientalizing" features of archaic Greek art, such, for example, as the winged and other monstrous forms on early Corinthian and Peloponnesian vases, the arrangement of the decoration in zones, the use made of the lion and other subtropic beasts, the composite demoniac forms, the architectural volute and pediment; for all these features were known to, and handled by, the prior Ægean world, and some of them, *e.g.*, the zone arrangement of decoration, are found in mid-European art of the Bronze Age. No reconsideration, however, can entirely discredit the evidence for a fresh and direct impact of the East on archaic Hellas in the early Iron Age—an impact which could never have taken place, and obviously did not take place, during the prevalence of Minoan sea-power. For two arguments of ancient repute are irrefutable. The first is drawn from Homer; the second from the Greek alphabetic system. At the epoch which the epics reflect, the Sidonians beyond question were visiting continually the coasts of Greece and bringing to Greek marts fine objects of their own or of others' workmanship. It is rather on the coasts of European than Asiatic Greece that we can warrant their visits, and all archeological evidence goes to suggest that the Sidonian wares were imitative in style and fabric. But these reservations do not alter the fact that works of Eastern character were being newly brought by Easterns to the area of the Helleno-Ægean culture at a period which the poems themselves prove to have been the opening of the Age of Iron.

As for the other argument, there are many reasonable doubts now current touching the source from which the Phenicians derived their characters, and touching their responsibility for the actual letter-forms, for the alphabetic order, and for the alphabetic numeration used in historic Greece; but the names given by the Greeks to their letters leave no question that Semitic traders had exerted some direct

and predominant influence on commercial intercourse in the Ægean when the historic Greek alphabet was taking shape, whether through selection from a group of characters long used in the Ægean area, or through the wholesale adoption of a ready-made series selected long ago by some other race.

Therefore far be it from any sane scholar to rule the Phenician out of the story of Hellenic origins. But we must reduce his part to a more modest performance than used to be credited to him. He should be regarded as a carrier only, an intermediary who had no independent art or culture of his own, but transmitted the art and culture of others greater than himself.

SAN FRANCISCO'S FALL AND RECOVERY

A.D. 1906

JACK LONDON HERMAN SCHEFFAUER

Before dawn on the morning of April 19, 1906, the great metropolis of America's Pacific Coast was suddenly stricken by an earthquake. Severe as this disaster was, it had but small effect as compared with the second tragedy which followed. Electric wires and gas mains, broken by the earth shock, caused terrible fires. The flame-demon, so long and cunningly trained to human service, burst from his confinement and worked furious vengeance on his master. San Francisco was almost wholly destroyed by the conflagration.

More marvelous even than the disaster was the city's swift recovery. Her citizens rallied as one man for the reconstruction of their home, and within a few months San Francisco had risen phenix-like from her ashes, more wisely, more firmly, and more beautifully built than before.

The well-known California novelist, Jack London, was among the first upon the scene of disaster. No man could have described the calamity more accurately or more appreciatively. So Mr. London's dramatic account of what he saw is reprinted here by his permission and that of *Collier's Weekly*, in which it first appeared. Then comes a vivid account of the city's rebirth, described by Herman S. Scheffauer.

JACK LONDON

THE earthquake shook down in San Francisco hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of walls and chimneys. But the conflagration that followed burned up hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property. There is no estimating within hundreds of millions the actual damage wrought. Not in history has a modern imperial city been so completely destroyed. San Francisco is gone. Nothing remains of it but memories and a fringe of dwelling-houses on its outskirts. Its industrial section is wiped out. Its business section is wiped out. Its social and residential section is wiped out. The factories and warehouses, the great stores and newspaper buildings, the hotels and the palaces of the nabobs, are all gone.

Remains only the fringe of dwelling-houses on the outskirts of what was once San Francisco.

Within an hour after the earthquake shock the smoke of San Francisco's burning was a lurid tower visible a hundred miles away. And for three days and nights this lurid tower swayed in the sky, reddening the sun, darkening the day, and filling the land with smoke.

On Wednesday morning at a quarter-past five came the earthquake. A minute later the flames were leaping upward. In a dozen different quarters south of Market Street, in the working-class ghetto, and in the factories, fires started. There was no opposing the flames. There was no organization, no communication. All the cunning adjustments of a twentieth-century city had been smashed by the earthquake. The streets were humped into ridges and depressions, and piled with the débris of fallen walls. The steel rails were twisted into perpendicular and horizontal angles. The telephone and telegraph systems were disrupted. And the great water-mains had burst. All the shrewd contrivances and safeguards of man had been thrown out of gear by thirty seconds' twitching of the earth-crust.

By Wednesday afternoon, inside of twelve hours, half the heart of the city was gone. At that time I watched the vast conflagration from out on the bay. It was dead calm. Not a flicker of wind stirred. Yet from every side wind was pouring in upon the city. East, west, north, and south, strong winds were blowing upon the doomed city. The heated air rising made an enormous suck. Thus did the fire of itself build its own colossal chimney through the atmosphere. Day and night this dead calm continued, and yet, near to the flames, the wind was often half a gale, so mighty was the suck.

Wednesday night saw the destruction of the very heart of the city. Dynamite was lavishly used, and many of San Francisco's proudest structures were crumbled by man himself into ruins, but there was no withstanding the onrush of the flames. Time and again successful stands were made by the fire-fighters, and every time the flames flanked around on either side, or came up from the rear, and turned to defeat the hard-won victory.

An enumeration of the buildings destroyed would be a directory of San Francisco. An enumeration of the buildings undestroyed would be a line and several addresses. An enumeration of the deeds of heroism would stock a library and bankrupt the Carnegie medal fund. An enumeration of the dead—will never be made. All vestiges of them were destroyed by the flames. The number of the victims of the earthquake will never be known. South of Market Street, where the loss of life was particularly heavy, was the first to catch fire.

Remarkable as it may seem, Wednesday night, while the whole city crashed and roared into ruin, was a quiet night. There were no crowds. There was no shouting and yelling. There was no hysteria, no disorder. I passed Wednesday night in the path of the advancing flames, and in all those terrible hours I saw not one woman who wept, not one man who was excited, not one person who was in the slightest degree panic-stricken.

Before the flames, throughout the night, fled tens of thousands of homeless ones. Some were wrapped in blankets. Others carried bundles of bedding and dear household treasures. Sometimes a whole family was harnessed to a carriage or delivery wagon that was weighted down with their possessions. Baby buggies, toy wagons, and go-carts were used as trucks, while every other person was dragging a trunk. Yet everybody was gracious. The most perfect courtesy obtained. Never, in all San Francisco's history, were her people so kind and courteous as on this night of terror.

All night these tens of thousands fled before the flames. Many of them, the poor people from the labor ghetto, had fled all day as well. They had left their homes burdened with possessions. Now and again they lightened up, flinging out upon the street clothing and treasures they had dragged for miles.

They held on longest to their trunks, and over these trunks many a strong man broke his heart that night. The hills of San Francisco are steep, and up these hills, mile after mile, were the trunks dragged. Everywhere were trunks, with across them lying their exhausted owners, men and women.

Before the march of the flames were flung picket lines of soldiers. And a block at a time, as the flames advanced, these pickets retreated. One of their tasks was to keep the trunk-pullers moving. The exhausted creatures, stirred on by the menace of bayonets, would arise and struggle up the steep pavements, pausing from weakness every five or ten feet.

Often, after surmounting a heart-breaking hill, they would find another wall of flame advancing upon them at right angles and be compelled to change anew the line of their retreat. In the end, completely played out, after toiling for a dozen hours like giants, thousands of them were compelled to abandon their trunks. Here the shopkeepers and soft members of the middle class were at a disadvantage. But the working-men dug holes in vacant lots and backyards and buried their trunks.

At nine o'clock Wednesday evening I walked down through the very heart of the city. I walked through miles and miles of magnificent buildings and towering sky-scrapers. Here was no fire. All was in perfect order. The police patrolled the streets. Every building had its watchman at the door. And yet it was doomed, all of it. There was no water. The dynamite was giving out. And at right angles two different conflagrations were sweeping down upon it.

At one o'clock in the morning I walked down through the same section. Everything still stood intact. There was no fire. And yet there was a change. A rain of ashes was falling. The watchmen at the doors were gone. The police had been withdrawn. There were no firemen, no fire-engines, no men fighting with dynamite. The district had been absolutely abandoned. I stood at the corner of Kearney and Market, in the very innermost heart of San Francisco. Kearney Street was deserted. Half a dozen blocks away it was burning on both sides. The street was a wall of flame. And against this wall of flame, silhouetted sharply, were two United States cavalry-men sitting their horses, calmly watching. That was all. Not another person was in sight. In the intact heart of the city two troopers sat their horses and watched.

Surrender was complete. There was no water. The sewers had long since been pumped dry. There was no

dynamite. Another fire had broken out farther up-town, and now from three sides conflagrations were sweeping down. The fourth side had been burned earlier in the day. In that direction stood the tottering walls of the *Examiner* building, the burned-out *Call* building, the smoldering ruins of the Grand Hotel, and the gutted, devastated, dynamited Palace Hotel.

The following will illustrate the sweep of the flames and the inability of men to calculate their spread. At eight o'clock Wednesday evening I passed through Union Square. It was packed with refugees. Thousands of them had gone to bed on the grass. Government tents had been set up, supper was being cooked, and the refugees were lining up for free meals.

At half-past one in the morning three sides of Union Square were in flames. The fourth side, where stood the great St. Francis Hotel, was still holding out. An hour later, ignited from top and sides, the St. Francis was flaming heavenward. Union Square, heaped high with mountains of trunks, was deserted. Troops, refugees, and all had retreated.

It was at Union Square that I saw a man offering a thousand dollars for a team of horses. He was in charge of a truck piled high with trunks from some hotel. It had been hauled here into what was considered safety, and the horses had been taken out. The flames were on three sides of the Square, and there were no horses.

Also, at this time, standing beside the truck, I urged a man to seek safety in flight. He was all but hemmed in by several conflagrations. He was an old man and he was on crutches. Said he: "To-day is my birthday. Last night I was worth thirty thousand dollars. I bought five bottles of wine, some delicate fish, and other things for my birthday dinner. I have had no dinner, and all I own are these crutches."

I convinced him of his danger and started him limping on his way. An hour later, from a distance, I saw the truck-load of trunks burning merrily in the middle of the street.

On Thursday morning, at a quarter-past five, just twenty-four hours after the earthquake, I sat on the steps of a small residence on Nob Hill. With me sat Japanese, Italians, Chi-

nese, and negroes—a bit of the cosmopolitan flotsam of the wreck of the city. All about were the palaces of the nabob pioneers of forty-nine. To the east and south, at right angles, were advancing two mighty walls of flame.

I went inside with the owner of the house on the steps of which I sat. He was cool and cheerful and hospitable. "Yesterday morning," he said, "I was worth six hundred thousand dollars. This morning this house is all I have left. It will go in fifteen minutes." He pointed to a large cabinet. "That is my wife's collection of china. This rug upon which we stand is a present. It cost fifteen hundred dollars. Try that piano. Listen to its tone. There are few like it. There are no horses. The flames will be here in fifteen minutes."

Outside, the old Mark Hopkins residence, a palace, was just catching fire. The troops were falling back and driving the refugees before them. From every side came the roaring of flames, the crashing of walls, and the detonations of dynamite.

I passed out of the house. Day was trying to dawn through the smoke-pall. A sickly light was creeping over the face of things. Once only the sun broke through the smoke-pall, blood-red, and showing quarter its usual size. The smoke-pall itself, viewed from beneath, was a rose color that pulsed and fluttered with lavender shades. Then it turned to mauve and yellow and dun. There was no sun. And so dawned the second day on stricken San Francisco.

An hour later I was creeping past the shattered dome of the City Hall. Than it there was no better exhibit of the destructive force of the earthquake. Most of the stone had been shaken from the great dome, leaving standing the naked framework of steel. Market Street was piled high with the wreckage, and across the wreckage lay the overthrown pillars of the City Hall, shattered into short crosswise sections.

This section of the city, with the exception of the Mint and the Post Office, was already a waste of smoking ruins. Here and there through the smoke, creeping warily under the shadows of tottering walls, emerged occasional men and women. It was like the meeting of the handful of survivors after the day of the end of the world.

On Mission Street lay a dozen steers, in a neat row, stretching across the street, just as they had been struck down by the flying ruins of the earthquake. The fire had passed through afterward and roasted them. The human dead had been carried away before the fire came. At another place on Mission Street I saw a milk wagon. A steel telegraph-pole had smashed down sheer through the driver's seat and crushed the front wheels. The milk cans lay scattered around.

All day Thursday and all Thursday night, all day Friday and Friday night, the flames still raged.

Friday night saw the flames finally conquered, though not until Russian Hill and Telegraph Hill had been swept and three-quarters of a mile of wharves and docks had been licked up.

The great stand of the fire-fighters was made Thursday night on Van Ness Avenue. Had they failed here, the comparatively few remaining houses of the city would have been swept. Here were the magnificent residences of the second generation of San Francisco nabobs, and these, in a solid zone, were dynamited down across the path of the fire. Here and there the flames leaped the zone, but these fires were beaten out, principally by the use of wet blankets and rugs.

San Francisco lay like the crater of a volcano, around which were camped tens of thousands of refugees. All the surrounding cities and towns were jammed with the homeless ones, where they were cared for by the relief committees. The refugees were carried free by the railroads to any point they wished to go, and it is estimated that over one hundred thousand people left the peninsula on which San Francisco stood. The Government took the situation in hand, and, thanks to the immediate relief given by the whole United States, there was no famine. The bankers and business men immediately set about making preparations to rebuild San Francisco.

HERMAN SCHEFFAUER

Rome, saith the adage, was not built in a day. Nor was it built in ten years nor in a hundred. Cities are not created out of hand. They are subjected to processes of evolution and gradual growth dependent upon many factors, such as pop-

ulation, commerce, and situation. From tent to hut, from hut to house, from hamlet to village, from village to town, from town to city, from city to metropolis, so are the great settlements and centers of civilization evolved by stages slow and successive. But it is not thus with the building of the city that vanished so swiftly little more than a year ago; it is not thus with San Francisco. Almost as suddenly as the old city disappeared, the new one is springing into existence. On the shores of the Pacific, before the black, desolate squares of land had cooled, a myriad men with hopeful hearts and strong hands had said: "Let us build a new city, a city stronger and more beautiful than the old." They said this as other men might have said: "Let us build a house."

Never before in the history of mankind has a spectacle such as this been unfolded to the gaze of the nations. There is something so magnificent about this grand ambition, something so epic and picturesque in this vast enterprise, that the facts and fables of history pale and diminish into insignificance. Thebes springing into the air to Amphion's fluting, the rugged pyramids arduously piled up by Cheops' slaves, the airy terraces and gardens of Babylon the Magnificent, or the Great Wall of China appear less marvelous than this eighth wonder of the world—the recreation of the city by the Golden Gate. The mighty effort of this resolute people of the West, undaunted by a catastrophe that has no parallel among recorded disasters, is full of the romance that will stir the imagination of posterity to a poetic idealization, but passes strangely unnoticed before the unregarding eyes of the world of to-day. The building of a great and modern city in one year or three or seven is a task that should shed the praise of poetry and history upon the spirits that now labor to recreate more than has been lost. Thus is San Francisco, always a city of romantic memories, now glorified by a greater romance and a more impressive epic dignity than has enshrined the cities of sad visitations since Troy fell or Pompeii was overwhelmed. In the mighty cincture of cities that surrounds the world, the face of San Francisco is now, as it were, like a blackened pearl that is quickly regaining its original whiteness.

To him who passes idly by and gazes upon the turmoil

and disorder of the Californian metropolis, upon its dust and grime, little of this romance, of this poetry, may be apparent. The roaring present rises around him, shatters the vision, and obtrudes all that is ugly and ruinous and commonplace, all that makes the inevitable stage of transition from the past to the future so painful and prosaic to eye and ear.

It is a stimulating thing to behold the Third San Francisco rising from its ruins, to see the new edifices leap into the air, and new streets sprout and bloom upon the inky wastes made so desolate by the victorious fires of April 18, 1906. In this Period of the Reconstruction, in this Romance of her Renaissance, the city presents phases, pictures, and contrasts never before witnessed in any land. For the third time in her brief existence the young metropolis of the West has triumphed over her pyres. The variegated, intense life, the energy and activity in labor displayed by the new-born city, are amazing. Both the remote past and the immediate future of the place are represented—the mining-camp and the modern metropolis. The years of the new century seem to have turned backward for five decades and reestablished many of the rude conditions of the almost legendary "days of forty-nine."

Iron works and foundries roar and ring incessantly; the railways pour in their tons of freight from all parts of the world, and the vast harbor is white with sails and alive with steamers. The quickening air of the West that has always been charged with a boundless energy is now more than electrified with a thrilling sense of rush and restlessness. Down the confused and encumbered streets the erring and bewildered winds from the Pacific sweep clouds of dust and ashes into the faces of the citizens. But the citizens themselves are in a whirl of work and tireless activity. Everybody seems to be supremely happy under the dominance of one great idea, the fulfilment of one grand purpose—the rebuilding of the city. The race and the chase for wealth is plainly apparent, as well as the feverish efforts toward the quick rehabilitation of shattered fortunes. For all that, cheerfulness, good will, generosity, and kindliness prevail in this gladdest and maddest of American cities. The catastrophe has converted the people to a sort of altruism, both practicable and practised.

The stony pales of exclusive society have been broken down by a common suffering and a common sympathy. As a matter of course, one helps others or is helped oneself. Money has rained upon the city from the insurance companies and from private sources, and the banks are flooded with funds far exceeding their former figures. Impatient millions of gold are waiting until the ground is cleared for building. The days of El Dorado and the great bonanzas have come once more, but in another guise.

In conjunction with the gigantic task of rebuilding the city must be considered the appalling labor involved in first clearing the ground whereon the thousands of new edifices are to be planted. Shaken into tremendous heaps of conglomerate rubbish by the earthquake, melted and disintegrated by the fire, flung broadcast by the blasts of dynamite, or shattered into ragged masses by the great siege guns used during the conflagration, the ruins and wreckage of the dead city confronted the citizens with a problem to which the digging of the Panama Canal was simplicity itself. The immense tangle of iron pipes, wires, drain-pipes, steel girders and columns, roof-trusses and tie-rods held the square miles of débris together with a disheartening tenacity. This mighty network of iron, buried and embedded in the demolished structures, melted and fused into inextricable tangles, still forms a formidable obstacle to the clearing of the ground. It fetters building to building and anchors them to the granite footings or wide foundations or the basalt-paved streets. When one considers that the destroyed area of San Francisco was six times as great as that of the monumental fire of Chicago, the gravity of this problem may in some measure be appreciated.

Thousands of cars of débris are hauled away by great locomotives running on tracks that have been laid into the various centers of the burned district. The millions of tons of wreckage are cast into the bay, and serve a useful purpose in extending the land in certain sections of the peninsula. Were the débris heaped in one pile that pile would make a mountain overtopping Ben Nevis. What work, what riches, what hopes and achievements that sad and forlorn mountain

would represent! The San Franciscans display a fantastic pride in the stupendousness of the disaster which overtook their city, and seem to find a certain strange, heroic satisfaction in the idea that their ruins are the biggest, finest, and blackest ruins that ever were.

Out of the clouds of flying lime-dust and ashes that shroud the black, jagged crests of the broken walls emerge the long arms of monster derricks that tear apart with toothed iron scoops the tangle of the wreckage, lifting tons of brick and mortar, and dropping them thunderously into the waiting trains. The whistling and snorting of hoisting engines are heard everywhere, and it is thrilling to observe the destruction of many of the lofty, craglike walls and isolated piers and towers left standing after the cataclysm and the fire. The crash and thud of the dead walls as they are torn down or blown asunder by dynamite are as stirring to the pulse and the imagination as the bombardment or the mining of a city besieged. The razing of many of the ruins is accomplished by means of steel cables attached to or wound about them. The cable is drawn taut by a derrick engine, and thus, whole or piecemeal, the walls are torn down. A tower nine stories high, forming the corner of what had been a great office-building, was sawn through with steel cables and successive jerks from a powerful engine—a difficult and dangerous undertaking which after many failures resulted in the tower collapsing within itself much after the manner of the campanile of St. Mark's at Venice. In the onslaught on the ruins numberless feats of heroism are performed every day. Chinese and Japanese toil side by side with the whites of all nations; Sikhs from India with colored turbans are seen sturdily wielding pickax and shovel. Brown Kanakas and Porto Ricans move swiftly about the base of the swaying, crazy walls, regardless of all danger. The silhouettes of men meet the eye clear-cut against the heavens as they walk along the crumbling tops of high and unsupported walls a foot in width and seamed with widening cracks. Others, covered with dust and rust from head to foot, crawl through molds and jungles of tangled, twisted iron, and make fast the steel ropes. Many are working deep down in the basement of some eight-storied

ruin, digging away in the darkness like moles, the while the treacherous walls tremble above them. Often they collapse, and then Death adds to the harvest the earthquake brought him. If, as the ancients thought, no temple and no city for which blood sacrifice had not been made could stand, then must the San Francisco of the future be insured the long-enduring favor of the two elements that wrought their terrible wrath upon her a year ago.

The tall buildings of "fireproof construction" (a term that will require considerable limitation in the future) were completely gutted of their interiors by the conflagration. The exteriors, in most instances, were not much damaged. All these buildings are now being restored, and are hidden in cages of scaffolding. The pile-drivers along the water-front are setting thousands of piles, and the incessant thudding of the great hammers makes a dominant note in the song the renascent city is chanting to the skies. The electric trams, crowded to the bursting-point, race recklessly along the uptorn streets, and add to the mad confusion of the traffic and often to the death-roll of the inhabitants.

Over a billion dollars are to be apportioned among the various improvements that are designed to rehabilitate the city. In the first six months after the fire over $75,000,000 were spent, despite the crippled and disturbed condition of the channels of trade and industry. This amount included the structures definitely contracted for, those on which work had been commenced, and those that were completed within that time, as well as the refitting of the great steel-frame buildings that had survived the flames. Six thousand temporary business buildings arose, row on row, and eight thousand cheap cottages provided pleasant and cheerful homes for a part of the tent-inhabiting refugees.

The disaster has had the effect of accelerating all manner of improvements along the lines and termini of the three great railway companies. These have all been forced to treble their carrying capacity. The extensive improvements which they had been prosecuting in a rather leisurely manner are now being rushed to completion in one-half the time. The Western Pacific, a new transcontinental line that is hurrying its tracks

toward this promised land, has issued a call for ten thousand additional men.

Imports and, strangely enough, exports too have increased to an extent that shatters all the records of previous years. Almost double the number of vessels are serving the port as at the corresponding date of the year before. So flow the tides of world commerce into the open portals of the Golden Gate, the Pillars of Hercules in the Western World, and the greatest trade outlet of the Father of Oceans.

Never before has trade been so active and extensive as at present in San Francisco. All businesses flourish. When knowledge of the great want of the city went forth into the world, it quickened the currents of commerce in all quarters of the globe. The needy city was overwhelmed with the products of every land. Steel works in Pennsylvania and the Midlands felt the stir, and cement factories in Germany; the lumber mills in the great Northwest ran night and day, and a thousand vessels of sail and steam turned their prows toward the Golden Gate. The railways of the Union sent train after train to the West, all laden with the necessaries, the comforts, and the luxuries of life. The inexhaustible resources of all the counties of the State were poured upon the city. Therefore, to-day in San Francisco all things are of the latest, the newest, and the best. Merchants and shopkeepers can not keep their stocks from ebbing entirely away until the next shipment arrives. A craving for lost luxuries seems to possess the people who demand not what is cheap but what is good. They who, a short time ago, were forced to obtain their daily food and drink from the municipal bread-and-milk line are to-day demanding the rarest delicacies from Paris or Strasburg. The costliest productions of the dressmakers of London, Paris, or Vienna are bought up instantly, and jewelry, articles of art and decoration, furniture and carpets are in undiminished demand.

The most serious inconvenience is experienced by those people who through the great scarcity of dwelling-houses are forced to live in tents and temporary shelters. Very high rents are demanded by the landlords, the rates in many cases being more than treble the former figures. The larger retail and

wholesale businesses were the first to reestablish themselves after the fire, and the builders began the housing of these firms before they paid any attention to private homes. The population of the city in February, 1907, was computed at 428,000, being but 72,000 less than before the fire. Of these, 100,000 still lived in basements and 50,000 in tents and wooden shanties. For a long time parts of San Francisco resembled a military encampment with the rows of white tents relieved against the charred ruins of the greenery of the parks. Many persons still live in the Tent City of Golden Gate Park, leading a free, open-air existence that has brought health and strength to nerves and bodies weakened by the ordeal of the earthquake.

The new life springs up everywhere, the old reminders of death slowly pass away. The heavens overhead are bright with hope and joy, the same heavens that were once filled with the sable smoke and the lurid splendors of the mighty conflagration. The incomparable bay basks in the sunlight, and the Pacific shimmers like a plain of green and silver. The trade-winds from the ocean blow briskly, full of the vigor of the sea, and toss the countless flags and banners that are hoisted over every shop and store as though the city were decorated for a festival.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE

A.D. 1906

EMILE COMBES [1] ARCHBISHOP IRELAND H. H. SPARLING

Few controversies have been so bitterly waged, few events have been fraught with such lasting importance to the future of both religion and government, as the controversy between Church and State which convulsed France in 1906. Roman Catholicism had been for centuries the established "State Church" of France; but the "Radical" party gained control of the French Government, and this party was determined to dissolve the union which bound France to one faith rather than another.

M. Emile Combes was at the time Prime Minister of France; and we give here his own statement, first offered to the American people through the pages of the *Independent Magazine*, as to what seemed to him the necessity and value of the decisive steps through which he led the party. On the other side, we give the story of the struggle as it appeared to the eyes of American Catholics as represented by their distinguished prelate, Archbishop Ireland. Then, as M. Combes failed to go into details in his address, we supplement it with a fuller statement of the French Government's view, by one of its well-known sympathizers, Mr. H. H. Sparling.

EMILE COMBES

NO one who follows world politics can fail to perceive the moral grandeur nor yet the numberless difficulties of the work of social and political reform in which France is at present engaged. It must be self-evident that such a reform involves the most vital questions affecting the highest national interests. It stirs society to its utmost depths, for it means the inevitable upheaval of its time-honored customs and sentiments. This reform is directed against a formidable power, the mysterious forces of the Church of Rome, which, after having seen monarchies tremble before them, have spread unreasonable fears among Republican Governments

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and used them to enslave the minds and hearts of the people. Nor have cabinets alone, always more or less ephemeral in their nature, failed in their efforts to confine the activities of the Church within prescribed limits. The law itself has been compelled to retreat before it.

It is, therefore, easily explained why these forces have been marshaled against the Government with all the paraphernalia of their power when their illegal conquests and the privileges they had usurped were found to be menaced. It has been possible to measure the extent of their power and of their action by the tenacity with which they have opposed the sovereign will of Parliament. To hold us in check they have called to their aid all these various factors which they command in society which for ages has borne the imprint of their domination. They have drawn into their ranks all those interests of society which are interwoven with their own and marched them all against the Administration. These aids and these interests, which have everywhere found a foothold, have waged a pitiless warfare on the Republic.

Even though the Republican cause had lost ground in this great contest, there would have been no good reason for either surprise or discouragement. The public mind, poisoned for a century, is not to be won over in a space of two short years. A splendid result may already be claimed, now that Republican France, by means of reform legislation, is prepared for a future that shall be free from the servitude of the past. It is an inspiring spectacle, indeed, to see a Republican majority brave all the united forces of retrogression, treating their threats with contempt, and finding alone in the conscientious performance of their duty the strong will to sacrifice all private interests, and, if necessary, their personal interests, to the higher welfare of the Republic.

But far from having lost ground, a decided advance has been made. The Republican standard has been planted in communities which have long been strongholds of retrogression, and where we have raised our flag we shall succeed in promulgating our ideas. The minds of the people shall be freed from the yoke which bears them down. Education, once freed from monastic control and placed in the hands of the

laity, will in its turn emancipate future generations. In these, as well as in the more advanced communities, Democracy, having become the ruler of her own destinies, will then rapidly and safely march along the broad highways of progress and of liberty. It was our rallying-cry that awoke Democracy to her work of freedom and which has brought about this triumph over the parties that are united in the cause of moral slavery and intellectual darkness. We have conquered solely by the power of truth. It is a travesty on the common sense of the people to attribute the late victory to intimidation and coercion.

The truth, as learned from an impartial study of the last election, is that France has simply refused to be caught by the advances of the Opposition. France has for two years seen the Cabinet at work. She is conscious of the grandeur of the task before it, and she sustains it with a perseverance that overcomes all the intrigues which are, openly or in secret, concocted against it, and all the combinations made for its overthrow.

The ultramontanes have tried to instil the people with a passionate love of the Roman orders under the pretext that their cause was the cause of justice and of liberty. The result of this policy is that France has become impassioned only with love for her moral independence, for true justice and for true liberty, the splendid outgrowth of the immortal principles of the Revolution. Ultramontanism has for a century been constantly scheming to ensnare our unhappy country in the meshes of the ingeniously woven net of the Roman orders. Republican France has broken the meshes and thrown far from her the fateful snare in which Clericalism tried to throttle her.

The whole policy of France for two years past has been a policy of emancipation and of liberty. Naturally the Administration does not have the same conception of emancipation and of liberty as does the Opposition. It borrows its inspiration neither from Clericalism nor from the spirit of Conservatism. It regards itself as being empowered by a Democracy that is inimical to all special privileges, and its honor as well as its duty demands every effort to secure its triumph. The

Government has been enabled by its policy to unite closely all the Republican forces and to oppose them victoriously to the united forces of the enemy. Those who incriminate the Government can not cite a single law proposed by it, a single administrative measure, that is opposed to the leading principle of its policy.

The domestic policy of the Administration, financial and otherwise, defies the impartial critic; its foreign policy is a subject of envy and of admiration for the whole world. It is true, we do not look back upon the glory of battles as others do. We do not run after adventurous wars and colonial conquests. We have the modesty of thinking that it is true wisdom to utilize the conquered territories before thinking of aggrandizements. But above this there is the patriotic joy of proving that France has never enjoyed greater consideration and respect in the world. Her alliance and her friendship have never been more appreciated and sought after. Never has the freedom or the loyalty of her diplomats been more highly recognized. Never has her Prime Minister, inspired by the constant care for the peace of the world, been heard with more deference. To the pacific policy of this diplomacy the people testify with sincere joy, as assured pledges in bringing about universal peace. For, in spite of the alarums of war which sound from afar, peace remains our first need as our firm resolution.

ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND

The conflict raging at present between the Church and the State in France awakens universal and profound interest. It could not be otherwise, were it only for the personalities of the contestants. On one side, the Catholic Church, which for ages has swayed the moral and religious life of the tens of millions of mankind, and demands, as in Heaven's name, the right to continue its work adown the coming ages; on the other, the "Grande Nation," which, since the days of Clovis and of Charlemagne, has reveled in the title of "Eldest Daughter" of that Church, and has held so long amid all peoples the most conspicuous place in the vanguard of religion and of civilization.

We ask, What are the causes of the conflict? What are to be the results?

For the moment the situation is, undoubtedly, serious—serious for the one and for the other of the contestants. Yet, seen more anear, it reveals no coloring of despair, either for France or for the Church of France. A bright morning, I dare predict, will at a not distant time dawn over the field of battle, dropping from the skies sunshine and peace and begetting, both in the Church and in France, joy and exultation that the passage-at-arms, angry as it once was, has opened the way to a clearer understanding of mutual interests, to a warmer glow of olden mutual love.

The Catholic Church—of course, I love her and I champion her cause with delight. And France, too, I love. While I blame her, I shall not forget all that she has been during her storied centuries to mankind and to the Church, and I now bid my hearers to nurture no rancor against her. If I beckon her to defeat, it is that she rise from defeat greater and more glorious than victory could have made her.

The immediate incident leading to the conflict between the Church and the State in France was the law of separation, as it is called, ratified as a law of the land December 5, 1905. Since 1801 the relations between the Church and the State had been regulated by the concordat, or public pact, to which the first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, and the Roman pontiff, Pius VII., had given their names. This concordat put an end to the persecutions of the revolution. By its terms the Catholic religion was acknowledged to be that of the great majority of the people of France; the free exercise of it was guaranteed; annual stipends were insured to its bishops and priests; churches, parochial residences, and other buildings intended for religious use, confiscated during the revolution and not afterward alienated by acts of the Government, were placed at the disposition of the bishops. In return the pontiff conceded that the first consul and his successors in power should have the right to nominate archbishops and bishops, to whom, however, canonical institutions should be given by the Roman pontiff, and agreed that only such priests should be appointed to the chief parishes as should be acceptable to the Govern-

ment, and that neither he nor his successors should molest the holders of such ecclesiastical property confiscated by the revolution as had been alienated by the Government.

Two special observations on the terms of the concordat are of importance as bearing on the present conflict, one as to the disposition made of ecclesiastical properties, the other as to the stipends to be paid to bishops and to priests.

Churches, parochial residences, or other buildings intended for religious use, taken by the "constituent assembly" and not afterward alienated by acts of Government, were placed at the disposition of the bishops. The Church in France has always held that by those words the ownership of such ecclesiastical edifices was fully restored to the Church, which was now reinstated in the "status quo" existing before the revolution.

Annual stipends were to be paid to bishops and priests. The promise of those stipends was no gratuity on the part of the State. It was a restitution of values taken by the State from the Church. The concordat simply reinsures the obligation by which the "constituent assembly" in 1789 held itself bound when it placed the properties of the Church "at the disposition of the nation." Its words were: "All ecclesiastical properties are put at the disposition of the nation, with the obligation resting thereon to provide in a becoming manner for the expenses of the public worship, the maintenance of the clergy, the relief and succor of the poor and destitute." Stipends paid in France to the clergy, it must be clearly understood, were never a gift from the national treasury to the Church. They were the payment of a debt, a partial restitution for properties once confiscated and not afterward restored to the Church. The properties that were restored in 1801 were only a fraction of those originally confiscated in 1789.

By the concordat Napoleon wrested a high price for the concessions he was willing to make to the Church. But it was a vast gain over the preceding situation, and the Church gladly resigned herself to the sacrifice. With the concordat the Church at least knew where she stood; she had legal rights to which she could appeal; she was secure in the possession of her temples; her bishops and priests were housed be-

neath their own roofs; the essential life of her organism remained intact; she could live and work.

And now, by act of parliament, the concordat is abolished; a régime of separation is instituted. Let not Americans be misled by words which have a totally different signification in this land from what is allowed them in France. Separation of the Church from the State in America means liberty and justice; there it means servitude and oppression.

Speaking to the cardinals present in the Vatican, Pius X. said of the French situation: "We are ready to submit to separation from the State, but it must be a fair separation—such as obtains in the United States, in Brazil, in Great Britain, in Holland—and not a subjection." No Catholic in the United States makes objection to separation, for here separation means exactly what it purports to mean.

Far different is the law of separation in France. It has its good points, for which we praise it. It restores to the Church the precious liberty of naming her bishops and her parish priests without interference whatsoever on the part of the civil authority. But it has its evil points, and these it is of which the Church makes complaint.

The specific gravamen of the French law of separation is the so-called "associations of worship" or civil corporations, to be organized for the holding and the administration of ecclesiastical properties.

The importance to the Church of a proper control of her properties is easily understood. It is a question of her houses of worship, of the residences of her bishops and of her priests, of her seminaries for the education of her clergy. She does not live or work in the air; she lives and works upon the hard earth, and if there, where her feet rest, she is not free and independent, it is vain to preach to her that the free exercise of her worship is guaranteed to her. The proposed "associations of worship" do not secure to her the sufficient control of her properties; they do not accord to her liberty and justice.

A recent note from the Vatican formulates the case against the French associations. "The law confers on cultual associations rights which not only belong to the ecclesiastical authorities in the practise of worship and in the possession and

administration of ecclesiastical property, but the same associations are rendered independent of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and instead are placed under the jurisdiction of the lay authorities." The Catholic Church is essentially and vitally hierarchical; it is ruled, first, by the pontiff of Rome, next by the bishop of the diocese. In the "associations of worship" there is no guaranty given that the hierarchical principles of the Church shall be allowed to enter into function. Indeed, they are explicitly excluded by article VIII of the law, which, dealing with cases of rival associations claiming to represent the one and same parish, allows the Council of State to decide the issues without reference whatever to papal or episcopal jurisdiction. And so, an association of worship owning and controlling temple and presbytery, receiving and disbursing revenues, is able, if it so wishes, so far as the law goes, to put aside priests, bishops, and pope, to conduct and regulate as it likes public worship subject only in final appeal to the Council of State. Never will the Catholic Church agree to lodge possession of her temporalities or the regulation of her worship in associations independent of her hierarchy. She is what her condition makes her; and where liberty is professed in her regard, she must be allowed to live as her constitution dictates.

There is another objection to the law of separation and the formation of associations of worship. The law sets out with acts of positive spoliation. It suppresses the annual allowances heretofore made to bishops and to priests. Those allowances were never, as we have seen, a gift from the national treasury. They were payments of a debt in return for the properties confiscated by the "constituent assembly." It would not, I know, have been difficult to obtain from the Church a renunciation of these allowances. But it was simplest justice on the part of the State to propose to the Church some sort of compensation for the loss she was to sustain, or at least to petition for her assent to the sacrifice she was expected to make. And next—and this is a far more serious matter—the law assumes that the State is the undisputed owner of all properties confiscated in 1789, and put back to the disposition of the bishops in 1801. All such properties

are taken over for good by the State. Cathedrals and other houses of worship are to be used by the Church as tenant at will; episcopal and parochial residences and seminary buildings are within two, or at the most five, years to be vacated by their present occupants, and then to be returned unreservedly to the State. This is confiscation of the blackest dye—and the Church owed it to herself to refrain from any act or attitude that should openly or impliedly seem to ratify it.

The whole law is permeated with a spirit of injustice and persecution. It was the occasion for a great nation to be large-minded and generous. Here was France in presence of the Church that had been so clearly linked with her destinies throughout her whole history, and had won to her so much glory—it is a solemn moment. It is best, the State believes, that less close bonds unite the olden allies. Then at least let State and Church separate in love and peace. "Go," France should have said to the Church—"but go with honor, go with all thy rights to life and property; take away the cross which has so long entwined itself around my banners; but take it in all its grandeur, take it shorn of none of its radiant luster, despoiled of none of its native rights."

The law of associations applies to Protestants and to Jews as well as to Catholics. I shall not discuss the attitude taken by Protestants and Jews toward the law, except to remark that although they have acquiesced in its provisions, they did not do so without complaint and protest.

Under advice from the head of the Church, the bishops of France refused the associations offered by the law of separation. They acted from principle. In the interest of religion, they could not approve such associations. They could not, by tolerating them, appear to approve them. They are not rebels against the laws of the country. The "associations," as the minister of education, M. Briand, himself has declared, were not statutes binding upon citizens; they were privileges tendered to the Church which she was free to accept or to reject. She has rejected them. Pope and bishops knew full well the consequences that were to follow; the spirit of the Government was not hidden from their eyes. It was an era of persecution, but, if no other escape from persecution were

possible than the acceptance of the law of associations, they were ready to welcome persecution.

Moreover, the law of "associations" was the last of a series of cruel blows aimed at the Church and her most sacred rights. For the sake of peace, those blows had been borne patiently; but when the last blow was struck the time had come to give evidence of firmness in defense of religion, if ever such evidence were to be given; if ever the enemies of religion were to be bidden to pause in their war of extermination. Law after law had been enacted to cut off the influence of the Church, to drive her into obscure corners, where she was not to be seen or known by the people; to reduce her power to work for souls; and she had not lifted her hand in opposition, ever fearing to trouble the public peace, ever hoping that better days were nigh. Her religious orders had been suppressed and their members scattered to the four winds of the earth; she had striven to bear the oppression.

My hearers can scarcely imagine the high-handed tyranny exercised in the suppression of religious orders. The right of existence was denied them. French citizens, men and women, were told that they could not live in community, that they could not consecrate themselves to a life of evangelic perfection by peaceful meditation in the solitude of the cloister, by works of charity in asylums, hospitals, or school-rooms. They were sent adrift, they were robbed of their belongings. Under the fiction of law, their properties were taken by the State, apparently to be restored to owners, when schemes of liquidation had been completed; but in fact to be wrested to the profit of favored liquidators in form of fees, and of the State in form of burdensome taxation, a remnant only returning to the members of the orders or to those who had contributed to the foundation of their homes. There was no respect for personal liberty, none for the rights of property, so long as liberty and rights seem to serve religion. At last it was the turn of the ordinary pastors of souls, priests and bishops. They were to be free, it was said, in the exercise of their ministry. Yes, free if they bore the manacles of servitude forged by the law of "associations."

The 11th of December, 1906, was the date when, unless

associations of worship had been formed, all churches and all other ecclesiastical properties in France were to be taken by the State. It is now illegal for priests to celebrate Mass, for Catholics to gather round the altar, for bishops to preside in their palaces, for students of theology to greet their teachers in the class-room. Here and there, agents of the Government make parade of military force, to assert, as it were, its ownership and maintain the honor of its ordinances; but its movements are slow; the unexpected passive resistance of the Church baffles its designs. It offers compromises. Laws are discovered under which priests may still exercise their ministry—one, that of 1881, authorizing public meetings of citizens for any purpose whatsoever; another, that of 1901, permitting associations of a most general character.

The pope and the bishops refuse the offer. It is meaningless; it is a mere temporary makeshift. Why should the exercise of religion be put on the level of a mere social or political gathering? Why should the Church be made equal to associations of passing nature or trifling character? Besides such laws decide nothing as to the ownership of properties, as to the ultimate right of the Church. The question of the permanent status of the Church is to be at some moment definitely settled; let it be settled now—or let the Government wage its war and unveil to the country its sanguinary designs. Amendments to the law of associations are talked of in the "Chambers"; well and good; let the law be amended; but the change must bring to the Church justice and freedom, else the régime of passive resistance will continue. The Church has put her case before the people of France: to them to decide.

What is the matter with the Government of France? What is the matter with France? Two chief ideas dominate the minds of the men who at the present time govern France—one, a hatred of religion; another, the omnipotence of the State.

It is a lamentable fact that there is in France a party bent on the destruction of religion. The war is made on the Catholic Church, because she in France represents religion. In reality, in intent and in fact, the war is against Christianity

in any form, against religion of any kind, against the idea itself of a God reigning over men. The old spirit of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century never died out in France. It had an outburst of triumph in the revolution, when God was declared non-existent, and infamy itself, denoted the "goddess of reason," was uplifted to adoration upon the altar of the Cathedral of Paris. It slumbered awhile under succeeding imperial and royal régimes; it has reawakened to new vigor in the freedom allowed to thought and speech by the present republic. I need but quote a few sayings of its modern apostles.

In an address in the chamber of deputies, Jaurès, the well-known Socialist, has said: "If God himself appeared before the multitude in palpable form, the first duty of men would be to refuse him obedience, to consider him not as a master to whom all shall submit, but as an equal with whom men may argue." Viviani, the present minister of labor, has said: "All of us together, first by our forefathers, then by our fathers, now by ourselves, have been attached to the work of anti-clericalism and irreligion. We have snatched the human conscience from belief in a future life." An important member of the present ministerial majority, Monsieur Delpech, has uttered these words: "The triumph of the Galilean has lasted twenty centuries; it is now his turn to die. The mysterious voice which once in the mountain of Epirus announced the death of Pan, to-day announces the end of that false God, who promised an era of justice to those who should believe in him. The deception has lasted long enough; the lying God in his turn disappears." So wild in practise is the spirit of irreligion that for years no official of the Government has had the will or the courage to pronounce in public proclamation or discourse the name of God unless it were in derision, and from the text-books used in national schools and colleges the name of God has been erased, as equally so all words that tell of a spiritual soul in man, or of a moral law deriving its force from the heavens.

This party of infidels and atheists is far from being France; but it is active, persistent, unscrupulous, and it forces itself with vengeance to the front. It has grasped the helm of

power, and it steers the ship of State into the darkest depths of unbelief and irreligion. Yesterday it was Combes, the most brutal of all; to-day it is Clemenceau, somewhat more subdued in his hatred, but yet a leader in the fight.

With such men, and others dividing with them public power, even if less violent adepts of irreligion, there reigns another idea—the omnipotence of the State. This was ever the plague of France—even when her rulers were devout Catholics. The State must control all agencies of power; it brooks no rival. Even the Church must be in the hands of the Government. So was it with Louis XIV. and with Napoleon; so it is with the republic. The republic is a name in France; it has been well said of it that it sleeps on the bed of Louis XIV. France has never understood the meaning of a republic, which is respect for private and personal liberty, which is to leave as much as possible to the people, to take to the State only what is needed for the public weal. The most republican of republicans seated in parliament set out at once to regulate all things to their own liking. "We are the State," they cry out, as Louis XIV. once said, "I am the State. And the State is the great power; all must think and act as the State wills and as we will." This is certainly the spirit of the infidels who now rule the country; and I am not at all sure it were not, to some extent at least, the spirit of some good Catholics, who, were they to-morrow in the ascendency, should believe it their duty to make every one go to Mass as the present Government assumes it its duty to let no one go to Mass.

Combine together in the present Government of France the idea of deep-seated hatred of religion and that of the omnipotence of the State, and you can understand how the law of separation, with its associations of worship, has come to be enacted.

Let us understand, however, what is meant by the Government, lest we believe things to be worse than they are. The law of separation was carried in the chamber of deputies by a vote of 341 against 233, and in the senate by a vote of 181 against 102. It would not have required a very marked change in membership, either of the chamber or of the senate,

to have defeated the law. Sound sense and a respect for rights cover yet many benches in the French parliament, and no wonder were it if some day soon it claimed supremacy.

What is the matter with France? Why do there come from the voting-urns of France anti-Catholic majorities in parliament?

France is a Catholic country; of this we must not doubt. Infidelity has made its inroads among her people; the test of active faith, attendance at mass and the reception of the sacraments, is wanting among many. But their hearts are loyal to the old religion, and summoned to take their stand around the banner of the Church, the millions will not hesitate. I know France from the channel to the Mediterranean; I know her cities and her villages; I know her people—her aristocracy, her bourgeoisie, and her peasantry—and I know them to be Catholic. How, then, explain the political situation? There are several causes to be noted. The masses are not used to political life. For ages they were governed; they do not comprehend the art of governing. Put a party in power—it names the hundreds of thousands of officials from the prefect of a department to the humblest school-teacher, to the village constable; they obey the order from Paris; they speak to the crowds around them—crowds who read little, who think little; and the crowds obey the mandate. An independent self-argued suffrage has not entered into the popular life. Nor is there among the masses the ambition to gain political victory. Paris for a century and a half has ruled France; establish a new régime, monarchy or republic, in Paris this evening; the provinces awaken to-morrow morning monarchical or republican. It will require long years to decentralize power in France, to give to each citizen consciousness of personal independence, to obtain through universal suffrage a true expression of national will.

The peasantry of France is naturally apathetic for all things outside its field or family hearthstone. If it moves at all it is at the call of the loudest voice, in response to the liveliest agitation—and the loudest and the liveliest are the professional agitators, or the self-interested officials. There is no other country where a well-organized and stirring frac-

tion of the population can sway so easily the masses and impose upon them its will.

The clergy, who are the chief sufferers, are somewhat to blame. They, too, have retained, even at the altar and in the pulpit, the spirit of passive obedience inherited from old régimes. Admirable in teaching the catechism, in administering the sacraments—they have never learned the virtues of public life, they have never quickened beneath the activities of the battlefield. Their example and their preaching left their disciples in the same passivity; they know nothing of the public defense of principles; saints before the altar, they are cowards before the electoral urn.

Then, French Catholics have been unfortunate in many of their leaders and spokesmen. These remain dreamers of the past, partizans of buried political régimes. If the masses of the people have learned any one thing, it is this—that France is a republic, that they are republicans. But the monarchists are numerous, chiefly the old nobility, the most generous patrons of religion, and too many of the clergy who still read their politics in Bossuet and Massillon, who judge the republican form of government by the Jacobin republic of contemporary France. Here is the weakness of the Catholics of France—the Infidel, the Socialist, who solicits votes, cries out—the republic is in peril, no republican must cast his vote for a monarchist—even if that monarchist be otherwise the best and the purest of men, and the masses vote for the infidel or the socialist, in order that the republic survive, trusting in the republic to do in the long run what is most serviceable for France, or even for religion itself.

The war may not cease in a day; time is needed to still passion and dispel prejudice. But the moment will come when all will be well. The Church can never be uprooted from the soil of France; the attempt was often before made; it always failed. From every battle the Church arose brighter, purer, more enlightened—and in the victory of the Church France saw her own victory. We will pray for France, and for the Church, and in a special manner we will pray for Pius X., the leader of the forces of religion; that wisdom and fortitude be ever given to him, that with his own eyes he see the triumph

of religion in that land which, let us believe, will always be the eldest daughter of the Church.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING

It is necessary to go back at least to the time of the Franco-Prussian War, if we are to disentangle the accusations and contradictions of the day, and approach the problem of Church and State in France with any real chance of understanding it. If we do so, we shall find that the present deadlock is not the outcome of any anti-Christian, or even anti-Catholic, feeling on the part of the French Government or any important part of the French people, but the inevitable outcome of two historic forces—the claim of the papacy that the Church in France is that of Rome and free of French law, the claim of the State that the Church in France is but a department of French activity and subject as such to national control. Another phase, in short, of the quarrel that has convulsed Christendom for centuries.

When France fell to pieces, during the Franco-Prussian War, the Church was the sole organization left unshaken. Army, administration, the whole Governmental machine, had been shattered and torn into fragments, but the Church was stronger than ever. For one thing, because of the proclamation and acceptance of papal infallibility a few months before, and for another because of the confusion amid which she moved. After the 18th of July, 1870, the pope stood isolated and supreme, his power no longer tempered by that of the princes of the Church, a bishop no more able to stand against him than a begging friar.

This triumph of Ultramontanism, or Roman power, after a struggle which had lasted for centuries, going back to the Isidorian Decretals and beyond, meant much to the newly formed republic. It meant that France was occupied by a foreign army, which could not be bought out as that of Germany had been. The episcopate in France was henceforth Roman, with no room in its ranks for a Hincmar of Reims, for a William of Paris, nor even for a Bossuet. From the highest to the lowest, every member of the hierarchy could only think and act as Frenchmen so far as the policy of the

Church allowed, and the policy of the Church must be that of Rome, of the pope and his *camarilla*.

At every turn of the road toward complete self-government, the French people were to find the Church as an enemy, more or less masked; to do it justice, less often masked than not. Had it covered its movements a little more carefully, chosen its tools and stalking-horses with a little more skill and foresight, it is impossible to say how long the hold of Rome upon France—"eldest daughter of the Church" and proud of the title in spite of everything—might not have lasted. As it is, over thirty years of ambuscades, of mine and pitfall, of open fight, have been necessary before France could be aroused to assert herself, to recognize the real extent of her danger, and set out in earnest to eradicate it. Even now, if the pope or his advisers would but accept the silver bridges that every one is ready to build for them, a working arrangement could be come to. But as Rome was, so Rome is, and ever will be. And the 14th of July, 1789, is less evil in her memory than the 7th of July, 1438, the day of the Pragmatic Sanction, in which the rights of the Gallican Church were asserted in opposition to the usurpations of the pope.

But to return to 1870. The Church was well-nigh all-powerful, would have been so beyond question had not papal infallibility been too new for the pope to trust his weapons. To a lesser degree he suffered in the same way as the republicans, from being forced to work through men who had been trained and formed under another system. But he was the quicker to get his team in hand, and in 1873 could score his first goal. Even before that he had scored a try. In the midst of the crisis through which France was passing, while the National Assembly was straining every nerve to bring order out of confusion, to pay out the Prussians, reorganize the army, patch up the administration, obtain a qualified obedience—fidelity was too much to hope for—from the servants of the nation, the bishops demanded the restoration of the temporal power, and were only outmaneuvered by M. Thiers, who dodged and evaded the crucial vote. The 24th of May, 1873, was a sweeping victory for the Church, which made one

mistake, however, and that a fatal one; for MacMahon was an honest man, and a soldier before all.

The Church held everything in her hand, and the Church was Rome. That is the refrain that recurs incessantly. The strife is not and never has been against religion in itself, not even against Catholicism, but against the domination of Rome. In the Budget for 1873 the Church figured for 49,000,000 fcs., as against 36,000,000 fcs. for education; from the local taxation of the departments and the communes she received 31,000,000 fcs. Her part of the national revenues for that year, therefore, was eighty millions of francs, and the amount was rising year by year. Public education was entirely under her thumb; the *Conseil Supérieur* was formed of bishops and archbishops, and on every *Conseil Départemental* they were in the majority. Teachers were appointed and dismissed on their merits as Churchmen. Armed with the law of 1850, the notorious *Loi Falloux*, every village priest could supervise the teaching in his school, and see that religious instruction came before all else. The priest was everywhere, in control of the *Assistance Publique*, the hospitals and infirmaries, the prisons, the barracks, on every man-of-war. The army was at his beck and call, to fill out his processions, lend him guns and flags for his fêtes, to consult him as to promotion, even as to the amount and quality of the obedience to be rendered to the civil powers.

Behind the acknowledged receipts of the Church and its open activities, was the vast army of the monastic orders, with their revenues, their palaces and fortresses, their estates, their farms, their manufactories and workshops. Richer, stronger, more numerous than they had ever been in their palmiest days, they maintained their spokesmen in parliament, their apologists and bravoes on the press, and stood ready to support any one and every one who threatened the republic. Their property was tax-free, their members and their acolytes exempt from conscription. While the body of the nation bent under the terrible load of reconstruction, of renewing its plant and stock, of rebuilding its balance, after the destruction and waste of the war, they stood aside, intent on their own strength, taking advantage of every opportunity

to add to their possessions or their privileges, and rendering as little as possible in return.

The most pressing danger to the republic lay in the clerical monopoly of public education. For France to recover her national life, to be able to look forward to a stable administration, it was absolutely necessary to take the elementary school out of the hands of the priest, the university out of those of the episcopate. This could not be done at once, but by 1879 it was possible for Jules Ferry to carry his bill for reorganization of the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement Public* and the *Conseils Académiques*. This eliminated the clerical element introduced by the *Loi Falloux*. The appointment and promotion of tutors and professors at the universities, of teachers in the schools, was restored to the State. Students in "free" colleges must henceforth take their degrees at the hands of the State, and the right of opening, managing, or teaching, in a "free" school was taken away from all members of an unauthorized body. It was Jules Ferry again who brought about the law of 1882, laicizing elementary education, and making it free as well as compulsory.

From this reform dates the steady growth of the republican vote, accompanied by an increasing cult of the open air. The spread of manly games and exercises among schoolboys and students has paralleled and illustrated their emancipation from monkish rule and method, their growing desire and aptitude for independence, their belief in and reliance on themselves. Year by year the recruits who come up for the army mark an advance upon their predecessors, and year by year as they pass from the ranks to the people they vote more and more as they think, and less and less as any one bids them. That they have lost much may be true, but they have gained themselves.

I have taken this question of education out of its order of date, for the sake of its importance in understanding things as they are. We must now turn back to May, 1877, for a typical instance of the interference of Rome in French politics, and a crucial episode in the fight we are following.

The Italian Parliament had passed a law regulating certain clerical abuses, and roused the Vatican to anger. The pope

denounced the law as persecution of the Church, and ordered the episcopate everywhere to bring pressure to bear on their respective Governments in favor of his injured power. Acting under his instructions, the French bishops laid their charges (*mandements*) before the Government. The Bishop of Nîmes announced that "the temporal power of the pope will arise again after earthquakes in which many armies and several crowns may be swallowed up." The Bishop of Nevers wrote to Marshal MacMahon begging him "to link up again the ancient chain of the traditions of our France," and to "resume his place as the eldest son of the Church." A copy of this letter was sent to every mayor throughout the diocese of Nevers, with a demand for his official aid in the movement organized by the bishops. The agitation was carried into parliament by the Clericals and Royalists, who were beaten after a fierce debate, ending in a vote which declared that "the Ultramontane manifestations, of which the repetition may endanger the internal and external security of the country, constitute a flagrant violation of the rights of the State," and called upon the Government to "repress this antipatriotic movement by all the legal means in its power."

Up to this time, any attack upon the concordat had come from the side of the Church; in this debate it was plainly stated by the republicans that they would henceforth accept and respect the concordat only in so far as it was recognized to be a bilateral contract, binding upon the Church to the same extent as upon the State. The answer of the Church was its part in the Boulangist movement.

Another crucial point in the relations of Church and State was reached on the 11th and 12th of December, 1891, in the debate provoked by the manifestation of the French pilgrims at Rome in honor of "the pope-king." For the last time, the Church could provoke an open conflict in the hope of victory, but after two days of fierce discussion the Chamber voted by 243 to 223 that the Government should use all the powers it possessed, and all that it might find necessary to demand from parliament, in defense of the public peace. It was during this debate that the threat of separation was made use of. Speaking of the claim that the Church in the persons

of the bishops and archbishops stood above the law, the Prime Minister, M. de Freycinet, said that the claim was preposterous (*renversante*): "The bishops, I imagine, are French citizens. If they can not accept the existing laws, why do they seek to be bishops? We desire to live in peace, but not at the price of being dupes. The present Ministry does not regard itself as having received a mandate from the country to bring about the separation of Church and State, nor even to prepare for it. But we have received a mandate to defend the State, and if separation should result from the agitation that has been started, the responsibility will lie with its authors, and not with us."

The majority was a small one, but real, composed in large part of men who voted from a stern sense of duty, "with death in their hearts," as one of them said. It was not in any sense a Radical majority, for the Extreme Left gave fifty-three votes to the Opposition. It meant that the country was tired of the Ultramontane agitation, that the average man, the solid middle-minded person, though no enemy of the Church in itself, was ready to fight Rome for national quiet, and that, however much he hesitated and temporized, he would fight hard if forced to do so.

We need but recall in passing how the Church acted throughout the Dreyfus affair and the Nationalist conspiracy. It was the revelations arising from these, however, that produced the Associations Law of 1901. Here, again, if it had not been for Ultramontanism, the Church might have remained unscathed. But to the Vatican, the salient fact was not that the bishops and monastic orders by accepting and applying the Law would recognize the supremacy of the State, but that in doing so they would be taking a first step on the road that might one day lead them to denying the supremacy of the pope. Hence the resistance that ensued, the fighting over the inventories, the attempt to procure a show of Russian intervention, the collective letter of seventy-two bishops and archbishops, and all the rest of it. Had the Vatican allowed, there was hardly a bishop or priest, excepting the Jesuits, who would not have accepted the Law and all its consequences.

Rome forbade, however, and the result was the Law of

1905, finally deciding the separation of Church and State, and relegating the Catholic Church to the position contentedly occupied by every other communion in the country. Again and once more, in a more dangerous form than ever, that of congregationalism, Rome saw Gallicanism behind the new Law. If any parish might form itself into an association for the practise of its rites and defense of its belief, what other control than a moral one would remain to the Vatican? And Rome has never been satisfied to rely upon moral suasion.

The episcopate, or at least the vast majority thereof, and practically the whole of the parochial clergy, accepted the Law; with regret, perhaps, but with no open expression of discontent. It was fully understood by both bishop and priest that the *associations cultuelles* had been invented for the express purpose of safeguarding the rights of the Church, in so far as these were reconcilable with the safety of the State. And right throughout France they began to organize themselves, when Rome intervened once more. Behind the Encyclical of August 10, 1906, stands the Syllabus of December 8, 1864, of which it forms the development and application to the controversy of the day: "Accursed be he who shall say that the ecclesiastical power should not exercise its power without permission and assent of the State; that the Church has no right to employ force, or that she possesses no temporal power; that in case of a legal conflict between the Church and the State it is the civil law that should prevail; that the Church should be separated from the Church and the Church from the State; that the pope can or should reconcile himself to and compound with progress, Liberalism, and modern civilization."

Hildebrand himself, nine hundred years ago, could have made no stouter claim to a universal theocracy centered in Rome, but France, though she be "the eldest daughter of the Church," is now an emancipated female. A fact of which the elections of May last should have advised the Vatican—would have done so, but for the Jesuits and the monks who have closed round the pope and hold him prisoner of his ignorance.

Forced against their will to apply the Law, and anxious

above all things that there should be no cry of persecution plausible enough to catch the ear of the average voter, the Government hastily drew up a supplementary Law to protect the Church against reprisals, to be feared wherever the priest had come into conflict with the municipality. So that, although all the buildings hitherto lent to the Church revert to the State or to the township, the churches with their furniture, decorations, and sacramental appliances are freely and fully at the disposal of the Church, and the liberty of public worship is absolutely maintained.

The present fight, then, as has already been said, is not an atheistic one against religion, nor even against Catholicism. It may have been, and almost certainly was, awaited by free-thinkers with eagerness, but it has been provided for them by the Vatican and by nobody else. And they have played, as they will continue to play, a very small if active part in it. Rome, by her steadfast refusal of peace, her relentless attacks upon the civil power, her constant insolent intrusion upon matters of national administration and national defense, has roused the vast indifferent mass to protect itself and its business from foreign interference. The fight is that which was fought to a finish by England, safe behind her sea-frontier, some hundreds of years ago, and now that she is strong enough to face it, must be fought to a finish by France. Spain will take her turn to-morrow, and the United States—paradoxical as it may sound—the day after. The arrogant claim that priest and monk and bishop shall stand apart, above and beyond the common law, with more than a citizen's privileges and none of his responsibilities, that the Church shall exist as a foreign body within the State, entitled to protection and support but rendering no allegiance in return, must in the long run be met and answered by every people desirous of preserving its corporate existence and possessing its soul alive.

THE PERSIAN REVOLUTION

A.D. 1907

S. M. JORDAN [1] PRES. STANLEY WHITE [1]
E. J. DILLON

At the beginning of the year 1907, Persia joined the remarkable list of Eastern nations which have recently awakened to the struggle for freedom. She rejected her old form of absolute rulership and established a parliamentary government.

The Persian revolution consisted of three distinct steps: first, the series of protests which led the old Shah to grant a constitution just before his death; second, the sudden stroke by which in 1908 his son Mohammed Ali suppressed the constitution and resumed absolute power; third, the series of armed uprisings which resulted in the enforced abdication of Mohammed Ali and the reestablishment of parliamentary rule under his little son as the nominal Shah.

Americans naturally sympathize with this people, who have thus sought and fought for light, for liberty, and equality. Hence American writers have spoken warmly of this Persian movement. The revolution was hailed throughout the Western continent with joy. But from Europe there comes a different tone. The European Press, almost without exception, has represented the Persians as being incapable of self-government, cowardly, selfish, and utterly false. Possibly this attitude may have been influenced by the fact that most of the European Powers hoped to get something for themselves out of Persia's difficulties. Russia, England, and Germany had been particularly prominent in their willingness to undertake the task of governing the Perisans and appropriating their territory. Thus the three pictures of the successive steps of the revolution which are here presented have a special interest in that the first two writers are Americans, one a missionary and the other a college president, who dwelt in Persia during the upheaval. They speak of conditions there with no ax to grind. The third writer is Dr. E. J. Dillon, the well-known Irish member of England's Parliament, an authority on Eastern questions, but an authority pledged to the view that "no good can come out of Persia."

REV. S. M. JORDAN, TEHERAN, PERSIA

THE East is awaking. Even the law of the Medes and Persians has altered. Within the past few months the world has been surprised by the Shah's proclamation of a constitution and the assembling of the first Persian parliament.

[1] Reprinted by permission from the *American Missionary Review*.

To those who have lived in that country and have been observing the growth of liberality this change was not entirely unexpected, for we have been able to discern the causes behind this liberal movement.

The first cause to be noted is the Persian character itself. Think of the liberality of that Zoroastrian king of Persia, Cyrus the Great, who chose the conquered Crœsus to be his bosom friend and trusted counselor; who returned the Children of Israel to the Holy Land, restored the vessels of silver and gold which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away to Babylon, and gave the command for rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem. Think of the liberality of those Zoroastrian priests who came to bring their gold and frankincense and myrrh to lay at the feet of Him who was born King of the Jews in Bethlehem of Judea. To the Greek all others were barbarians and to the Jew they were Gentiles, but Persian priests from afar came to worship a babe born in a foreign land of an alien people who they knew was to become the leader of a rival religion.

This independence of thought has borne fruit since the Mohammedan invasion. Islam has failed to hold the Persian in unreasoning faith as it has held other peoples. The Persian people as a whole are Shiah—that is, Protestant Mohammedans—and the Shiah sect in Persia has broken up into countless divisions, just as Protestant Christianity has divided into many denominations. One of these sects, the Babi—or rather, the Behaï—has for the past fifty years been the second of the important factors in bringing on the movement toward liberality. In fact, the Behais would scarcely admit that they are a sect of Mohammedans, since they claim that their religion is the step next higher than Islam in the evolution of the one true religion which previously found expression in the Law of Moses, the Gospel of Christ, and the Koran.

The third factor in the liberal movement that I would mention is the prosperity of Christian nations. Mohammedanism is a politico-religious institution, political even more than religious. Therefore the blessings of temporal prosperity should of right belong to the faithful. The early successes of their so-called religious wars were quite in accord with these

ideas. Now that they have fallen so far behind Christian nations they are unable to find a satisfactory explanation.

Into the midst of all these liberal tendencies in solution at the psychological moment came the Russo-Japanese War to crystallize them into action. During the war all the Persian papers were full of the wonderful progress of Japanese in the past forty years. It was the never-ending theme of conversation where two or three of the educated class chanced to meet. A history of Japan compiled and translated by a graduate of our school in Teheran had a large sale. The papers were full of essays on the blessings of constitutional liberty and freedom. The surprising thing was that Japan's growth in power and and her consequent victories over Russia were attributed not only to education, civilization, and advancement in arts and sciences, but also to constitutional liberty, freedom of speech and of the press, and even to religious liberty, and America's part in this development was frequently referred to. The liberal tendency of the Persian press and the liberality of the Persian government were illustrated by the leading paper in Teheran publishing as serials biographies of Washington and Franklin.

REV. STANLEY WHITE

The first rumblings of a coming revolution were heard in Persia toward the close of 1906, when disturbances in Teheran followed political agitation on the part of Moslems and ecclesiastics. The material out of which a republic could be made did not exist, and while the desire was budding, there were none among the younger element made of the stuff out of which strong, sane, political leaders of the future might come.

With the year 1907, and before any one supposed it possible, the changes in Persia began to occur with astonishing rapidity. Shah Muzaffar-ed-Din died and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Ali. It was feared there would be wide popular disturbances, but the change was made very quietly. Before the death of Muzaffar-ed-Din the movement toward constitutional government, which was supposed to be a mere temporary and unimportant disturbance, actually material-

ized. About the middle of July some influential merchants and priests, or *mollahs*, began pressing the Sadrazam (Prime Minister) for the institution of financial and political reforms, threatening to cause disturbances should their demands not be granted. The troops were called out, and on reaching the bazaars they found a big crowd, clamoring and threatening. The soldiers were ordered to fire on the mob and, having done so, some sixty or seventy people were killed, the rest dispersing as fast as they could. Next day the chief *mollahs* left the city on their way to Kum (a holy city), and about 1,000 merchants and sayids with students rushed into the British Legation, putting themselves in *bast* (asylum). The following day the people at the Legation had increased to 3,000. They were all well received, tents were given to them, and by the end of the week the number had increased to 10,000 and it kept increasing daily till it reached 18,000. All the gardens, stable yards, etc., were full and all streets leading to the Legation were overcrowded. The people refused to leave until the *mollahs* had been brought back in honor from Kum, and a *dast-i-khat* (autograph firman) from the Shah given to them granting all their demands. The principal demands were as follows:

1. Dismissal of the Sadrazam (Prime Minister).
2. Dismissal of an offensive official. the Amir-i-Bahadur-i-Jang.
3. A representative assembly, to be named by the people, to direct the affairs of state.
4. General financial reforms.

After a week had elapsed and their demands were still ungranted, the people begged the British Minister to go and see the Shah and personally give him a list of their demands. Mr. Grant Duff complied with the request, and immediately the Shah called him to his presence and gave him a *dast-i-khat* (autograph firman) granting all that was demanded. Mr. Grant Duff had only left the place for an hour when he was officially informed that both the Sadrazam and the Amir-Bahadur had been dismissed, and that an envoy had been appointed to go and bring back the *mollahs*. When the people at the Legation received the news they became wild with joy

and addressed a long telegram to his Majesty King Edward, praying him always to protect them and their country by giving good advice and counsel to their own sovereign, and thanking him for all that had been done by Mr. Grant Duff on their behalf. King Edward sent them a very cordial telegram in reply, assuring them that he loved them all and would do all in his power to increase the welfare of the people of Persia. At this time Mr. Grant Duff requested the people to leave the Legation, but they refused to move until the *mollahs* had arrived. A few days later the latter made a magnificent entry into the city. The town and bazaars were illuminated and the people left the Legation, having obtained all they wanted.

The Parliament thus secured convened prior to the Shah's death, but it was feared that the new Shah would prove a reactionary and would attempt to dissolve Parliament. There were several collisions between him and the Assembly, but the latter prevailed and for a time continued and strengthened its position.

The movement which issued in a representative assembly in Teheran found similar expression in many other cities, but in a very crude form. From Urumia a correspondent writes: "Some weeks ago, in emulation of the people of Tabriz and Teheran, various gatherings were held here, and as the result of them a council or committee of the people, an anjuman, as they call it, was formed, consisting of seven persons—one prominent *mollah*, one notorious sayid, two landlords, and three merchants. This body has assumed large authority, which has been used both for good and bad. One of the first acts of the anjuman was to draw up a proclamation to the people, stating on the whole in moderate terms what they expected to do—not to supplant the regular governmental officers, but to cooperate with them and strengthen them in order to secure liberty and justice. The members of the anjuman hinted to the missionaries through others who were desirous of helping on the cause of education that they felt that in the school for Moslem boys the teachings and rites of their own religion ought to be taught. In order to carry out this purpose, they suggested that a *mollah* be permitted to come into the school every day and teach these. These sug-

gestions naturally were not entertained. Finally, they threatened, and so the missionaries went directly to the anjuman, saying that if they insisted on this, they would close the school; but that it should be known in Urumia and elsewhere that it was closed because of the anjuman. This brought assurances that they wished nothing of the kind and that the school should go on. The reasons for this rather contradictory state of things is that the movement is a mixed sort of thing. Those who really have been at the bottom of things in Persia are men with enlightened views and a real desire for enlarged liberty. But the element that has the most power in it in Urumia is the very opposite element—*mollahs* and sayids, who find in it the chance to assert themselves. These last masquerade under the banners of liberty and use the catchwords taught by others. The situation is a ticklish one and will demand the utmost care."

The movement seems, however, on the whole to be in the direction of liberty, and a new freedom of speech is already noticed, and the emergence of these frank convictions as to the inadequacy of Islam, which it has long been known would come to expression as soon as the day of free opinion should arise. Up to this time the situation was well described by one who said, "It is twilight of the day as yet, and there may be darker hours before dawn."

Matters came to a crisis in December, 1907, when the Shah attempted to overthrow the Medjliss (Parliament), and with it the constitution for which it stands. Following the example of Russia, he proposed to prorogue the Medjliss, saying: "I stand for the constitution, but I am not satisfied with the present membership. I propose to dismiss this Medjliss and call a new election after a few months." To this the Medjliss demurred and called to his Majesty's attention the fact that before he ascended the throne he had promised not to prorogue it for two years. The members refused to be dismissed. Failing in this, his Majesty decided to try a *coup d'état*. It began Sunday evening, December 15th. A crowd gathered in the Cannon Square, near the palace. Some patroled the street in front of the palace, crying: "May the Shah live! May the Medjliss die! May the Koran live! May

the opposers of the Koran die!" Later it became known that this spontaneous uprising of the people had been planned by the Shah himself, who had hired some of the *mollahs* and roughs of the city to make a demonstration against the Medjliss.

The Shah was, however, finally forced to yield to the Medjliss, and consented to the return of all whom he had ordered banished. As a result and accompanying the spirit of liberty there was an increased measure of religious toleration.

A crop of newspapers sprang up in the capital of Persia. Newsboys ran up-town with bundles of papers fresh from the press. Some of them were issued daily, except on Friday (the Moslem Sabbath). The names were indicative of the movement. There were *The Assembly*, *Civilization*, *The Cry of the Country*, *Justice*, *Progress*, *Knowledge*, *The True Dawn*.

Border-line disturbances were in the mean time taking place and complicated the international side of the problem. During the summer the Persians sent a military expedition against the Kurds, who for the last three or four years had been making life uneasy for every one in the Urumia region, and would have brought them to terms, but Turkish troops crossed the border and supported the Kurds, and the Persian expedition fled. For some weeks the plains between Urumia Lake and the mountains were subject to constant depredations from the Kurds, the Turkish troops meanwhile having settled on the Persian side of the boundary. Later some of the Turkish troops moved to the southwest of Urumia, and Turkey is now claiming sovereignty over territory which for generations has been acknowledged to belong to Persia. The Turkish troops later took their Kurdish allies in hand, and conditions have been somewhat better. Provision was made for a joint Turko-Persian Commission to discuss the boundary question.

When the expedition against the Kurds failed, the Persians were disposed to lay the blame on the missionaries, charging that the expedition would not have taken place if it had not been for the insistence of the American Government on the punishment of the murderers of Mr. Labaree, although the

missionaries had requested that nothing further should be done. In defending their own course, the Turks charge that the Persians were invading Turkey. Through the kindness of the British Minister in Teheran, correct representations were made in Constantinople as well as in Teheran.

By this time the cities in Persia were in a ferment with the new political ideas, and the movement toward freedom had assumed genuineness and proportion. The people did not know the meaning of the words they used. The popular Government was weak and often corrupt. There was ignorance as to how to use rights they had extorted from their rulers. There was danger that the political movement would meet only with disaster. Nevertheless, Persia had begun to learn the meaning of liberty. Not a few were preaching it because a wo was laid on them if they preached it not. The new youth of freedom was being born in their hearts, and a new Persia was destined to be born.

As showing the relation of the new movement to the Mohammedan religion the following statement is significant: "This young Persia has not cast off all the teachings or all the errors of the past. Most of the dreamers see the vision of a Mohammedan state, strong in freedom and true to the faith of the fathers. Yet if freedom often has found a foe in the Christian Church, how much more certainly must battles be fought with the Mohammedan hierarchy? Proof-texts for representative government are still drawn from the Koran, yet there are both friends and foes who point out that Islam is a fixed and infallible law, and that a code of law subject to change by a popular assembly is contrary to the very foundation of the faith. The struggle has already begun and the Shah is setting *mollah* against people, refusing to sign constitutional charges unless they have the indorsement of the chief clergy." This young Persia is very ignorant, and is asking to be taught. It believes that science has given the West its preeminence, and so it asks for modern science. It is inclined to believe that science is all, and so some are becoming materialists. When the conflict between faith and science comes, as come it must, many will reject faith.

Besides parliaments and assemblies, young Persia is establishing printing-presses and schools, and is buying books and newspapers. The new schools are not in the mosques, and are different from the old ones, even in the method used for teaching the alphabet. The newspapers are crude, but they are outspoken for the people, and no one dares as yet to stop them. Young Persia is going West to school. Young Persia has some ugly, dangerous traits. It is buying arms and is drilling. Some are learning methods of assassination and terrorism. Anarchistic teaching begins to be heard, and there is danger of much irreligion. Said one of the leaders, a man wearing a *mollah's* turban: "The people will cast off Islam, but do not imagine that they will accept Christianity in its stead." The new spirit may bring a curse rather than a blessing.

The correctness of this estimate has been shown by subsequent events. During the last twelve months, no country in the world, except perhaps Turkey, has been more disturbed by the play of new forces than Persia. On Tuesday, June 23, 1908, troops bombarded the Parliament buildings. A number of the leaders of the Constitutional party were killed and the constitution itself was withdrawn. From that time until May 5, 1909, the Shah remained master of the situation in Teheran, and, in spite of the pressure brought to bear upon him, refused to restore the constitution or to reconvene the Parliament.

Distant sections of the land have been in open revolt. The city of Tabriz, the most important city in the country except the capital, refused to acquiesce in the destruction of the constitutional régime and civil war ensued, the Popular party being led by Satar Khan. After fighting which lasted through the summer of 1908, the Royalists were driven out of the city of Tabriz, and a good part of the province of Azerbaijan was held by the Constitutionalists.

In the midst of all the confusion, whither is Persia drifting? One answer can be given, and perhaps only one. It is drifting away from the past. Anarchy or foreign occupation may ensue. It may be under Russian or under Turkish rule. In any case, the old order has gone forever. Disappointment in the new régime has not increased the longing for the old autocracy.

The Revolutionary party in Tabriz has also shown more force and more self-contol than was expected.

E. J. DILLON

Shoolookh, or "ructions," which the good people of Teheran had so long been looking forward to and even hoping for, have come at last and cleared the air. Persia, after a comedy of errors and a tragedy of follies, has received the long-wished-for constitution from the hands of outsiders, the nation is now free to govern or misgovern itself, and its first act was to take a child of thirteen for ruler. But the Persian problem does not appear to have been solved as yet. One can hardly say that it is much nearer to a reasonable solution than it was three months ago. Peace and quiet have, we are told, come to stay, and that is a blessing to be thankful for. Truly. But it would not be amiss to postpone payment of the debt of gratitude until actual delivery. The close of the first, or call it second, act of the Iranian drama was full of incongruities, tragedy alternating with comedy in a droll, whimsical sequence. On Monday, the 12th of July, 1909, the Shah's position was strong and hopeful. His troops had defeated the forces of the Sipahdar, the chief Constitutional leader, in the open field, and now surrounded them on three sides. The Sipahdar felt discouraged, and if the Shah's troops had profited by their successes and pressed him close there is little doubt he would have had to abandon the struggle. In fact, he ought to have abandoned it already. But he relied on the folly of his foes. And in this he was right. For the Persian royal guard, or Cossack brigade, which was fresh and brisk after the truce, seems to have suddenly lost the use of its eyes and ears and hands. Accordingly the Sipahdar marched through the encircling lines of the enemy without difficulty or danger and approached Teheran, where they gave a signal, agreed upon beforehand, which was to have brought the population of the capital to their assistance. But the people of Teheran were also deaf and blind and paralyzed; only a few appeared outside the walls to lead the champions of Persia's liberty into the city.

Colonel Liakhoff's resistance is described as noisy but ineffectual. Powder was burned in prodigious quantities, and

heavy guns boomed continuously; but Allah was merciful to the combatants. Colonel Liakhoff lost only 27 and the Nationalists 30 men. Pillage was indulged in by all sides. In the Allauddowleh street, where several legations and hotels are situated, house after house was entered and gutted. The first in the field were the Shah's soldiers. Very soon, however, gendarmes and police were dispatched to seize and punish these malefactors. But in presence of the rich booty the hearts of the constables melted, and they fraternized with the defenders of the Shah and set to plunder likewise. Cossacks were then ordered to put an end to these disorders and to shoot the refractory without ruth. But the Cossacks on their arrival in Allauddowleh Street divided, one section of them helping the Shah's soldiers to rob and destroy, while the remainder allied themselves with the police and helped them to sack and pillage. They were resolved, however, to commit no act of violence under a foreign flag, lest diplomatic trouble should ensue. That lesson had been well impressed upon them. Accordingly they respectfully removed all flags that had been hoisted over private houses, and only then did they go on with their work unfearingly.

All this time the strategical position of the revolutionists underwent no sensible improvement. At any moment the Shah's Bakhtiari allies might enter the city and worst the Nationalists as badly as they had done a few days before near Karatepe. In order to put an end, if possible, to this painful state of suspense and danger, the Sipahdar and his lieutenants resolved to try their luck at intimidating the monarch. That would give them victory. An ultimatum was drafted, signed, and dispatched, summoning the Shah to send representatives to hold parley with the Nationalists respecting the terms of an understanding. In case of refusal they threatened to resume hostilities, and repudiated responsibility for the consequences. It was the stereotyped formula, with no new considerations to lend it weight, but the Shah, it was thought, might be in the mood to argue just then.

Meanwhile the news which the unlucky ruler had been receiving from his messengers was depressing. The outlook for the royal troops was systematically painted in somber colors.

By whom? It has been hinted that the representatives of the Powers were aware of this exaggeration and of its motive. But all the Ministers Plenipotentiary were absent just then from Teheran, taking their summer rest at a place about eight miles from the capital. All except the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, who, on the 14th of July, having heard that Europeans, and especially European women, were in danger, went about from house to house, occasionally under fire, taking not only Austrian subjects but others as well, and giving them the shelter and hospitality of his Legation. That man deserves recognition. The next night the Shah had lain awake, a prey to constant terror. Early on the morning of the 16th he sent his wife and family for safety to the Russian Mission in carriages. He himself followed on horseback, accompanied by the tutor of his son, a Russian named Smirnoff. By circuitous paths they reached the Russian Legation at Zerghende, and at nine in the morning Mohammed Ali Shah entered that Russian territory and invoked the protection of the Russian flag. Finis.

About two hours later the ultimatum was brought to the palace, and the fact elicited that his Majesty had quitted Sultanetabad and taken refuge at the Russian Legation. Among the deputies of the Medjliss there was great joy at this happy and unexpected turn of events. The thorniest of all questions—the rôle to be allotted to the Shah—was here settled to the hearts' content of the Nationalists, and by the same stroke of good fortune all their most pressing difficulties were removed as by the waving of a magician's wand. The Powers, too, had good grounds for feeling relieved. But the ill-starred ruler to whom the tidings were brought, together with the additional communication that he had been deposed by the "Supreme Council," raged and fumed like one bereft of reason. He had himself to blame. Like his colleague, Abdul Hamid, he had no faith in his mission, was not fitted for the business of kingship. "Fear made gods; boldness created kings." Mohammed Ali Shah, refusing to accept his deposition, announced that he had abdicated by the fact that he had sought shelter under the Russian flag.

The election of a successor to Mohammed Ali was the

affair of a couple of hours. The "Supreme Council"—the rebels of yesterday being transformed into the despots of to-day—elected the Shah's favorite son, Sultan-Ahmet, a pretty boy of thirteen, whom carriage, gait, and demeanor render incomparably more dignified, more kingly than his father. The child had been a witness of the brusk way in which his parent had been treated, and when he was told that the same insolent fellows had raised him to the vacant throne he proudly said he would never be their Shah. And this resolve was approved by Mohammed Ali. But the child's Russian tutor insisted; Court dignitaries bade him be brave and quit him of his caprices, and the boy burst into tears and sobbed hysterically. Finally he was soothed and induced to leave the refuge of the Russian Legation and repair to Sultanetabad. The next day but one a ukase was promulgated in the name of the little Shah and addressed to the Regent, which opens with this characteristic and significant passage: "Your Highness! The most High Creator has delivered into our hands the reins of government and chosen our person to be the defender and protector of holy Islam." On the 19th and 20th of July the child had a difficult part to play, and he played it admirably. Conveyed to Teheran in a carriage made mostly of glass and drawn by six milk-white Arab steeds, he had to make his way to the palace through a dense and undisciplined crowd.

Next day the Salaam, or homage to the sovereign, was arranged in the garden. The spectators, including the troops and foreigners of distinction, were legion. The child Shah, in uniform, encumbered by an enormous sword glittering with jewels, sat on a golden throne. With downcast eyes and changeful voice he uttered a few words about the will of Allah, the monarchical power, and his own good intentions. The oldest courtier replied in "high-faluting" language, expressing the same wishes, forecasting the same roseate destinies for monarch and nation that he had expressed to the child's father two short years ago. *Vanitas vanitatum.* Pale, immobile, and seemingly attentive, the little Shah sat there until the flowery discourse was done; then he put his hand to his head-gear in military fashion, arose from the armchair, and walked

slowly into the inner apartments, accompanied by a patriarchal figure that might have been an Old Testament prophet, but was only the Prince Regent. The poetic prolog was now over, and the next step was toward the prosaic work of administering the constitutional realm of Iran.

CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT BY THE PROCLAMATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNORS

A.D. 1908

GIFFORD PINCHOT THE GOVERNORS PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR

The nation-wide movement for the conservation of the natural resources of America had its formal beginning on May 13, 1908. President Roosevelt took the unprecedented step of calling together on that date all the Governors of the various States for a conference on this vastly important theme. With the Governors were gathered the members of the United States Supreme Court, the members of the President's Cabinet, and the presidents and other chief men of leading scientific associations.

From this notable and distinguished conference sprang the Governors' Proclamation, which we give in full below. Governor Blanchard, of Louisiana, was Chairman of the Committee of Governors who drew up this important document. Prefacing the Proclamation, we place an address by the chief worker for conservation, Mr. Gifford Pinchot. This speech, delivered shortly before the gathering of the Conference, had an undoubted influence upon it. We then close with a summary by Professor Graham Taylor, seeking to estimate the extreme importance of the conservation movement, and especially of the Governors' Proclamation, which he ranks with the Declaration of Independence in its value for future generations.

GIFFORD PINCHOT

THERE are certain renewable resources and certain resources which are not renewable at all. The non-renewable resources are the minerals. What may happen in the case of thousands of centuries hereafter does not interest us at all. We know that when the coal is gone, so far as we are concerned, it is gone for good, and we have a supply of anthracite for about only fifty years.

Not only that, but in certain kinds of coal-mining, and some men say that the average will bear out the statement

I am about to make, only about half the coal in the ground is actually mined before the roof is allowed to fall in, and what remains is permanently inaccessible for all time to come. In other words, our methods of mining are such as to eliminate from consideration at the start one-half of that which is absolutely indispensable as a necessity for our present kind of civilization.

What may happen in the future it is difficult to predict, but we know, so long as present methods continue, that coal is a necessity, and we know that the supply of coal is limited, and we are acting as if it made no difference whatever that that supply should be exhausted.

Of the 50 per cent. which is mined, on an average about 90 per cent. is wasted; or, to put it in another way, only about 10 per cent., and in many cases only 5 per cent. of the energy of the coal is actually transformed into work.

The sum total remains that under our present methods an excessively small quantity of the value of the coal to all our people is ever put to use, and there is in such a statement as this a very serious indictment of our whole people; and with all due allowance for the necessities of the case, for the rapidity with which we have reached this stage, there is a definite indictment of the intelligence of our people as a whole for that, judging from the point of view of the single individual.

What should any of us say of a man adrift at sea in an open boat with a little barrel of water, or with a keg of water, enough water to last him with ordinary use for five days, and he knew that the chances of his being picked up at sea were infinitesimal, he was out of the track of ships, and he knew with the best time he could make it would take twenty days to reach land—what should we think of that kind of a man if, under these circumstances, he not only drank all the water he wanted, but used the rest of it to wash his hands? And yet we are not only using all the coal we want, but we are throwing a lot of it away.

We have handled natural gas in precisely the same way. The great flambeaux have been kept burning day and night, year in and year out, in certain gas-fields, until what had been foreseen as an inexhaustible supply, and so described

until people really came to believe it, was all gone. How many oil-fields of the United States are already exhausted, and with the utmost hopefulness in forecasting the discovery of new fields, is it not fairly reasonable to suppose that, within a comparatively short time, the oil, too, will have gone the way of much of the gas?

In no other case except that of the forests have we as a people so distinctly emphasized our lack of foresight as we have in the case of the mineral fuels, and the result is especially important, because in our present state of civilization we must have them to go on with our work. We ought to have known better, and the time is easily come, when, instead of the limitations which are imposed upon us by commercial conditions, we ought ourselves, as a nation, to grasp this question of mineral fuels definitely and attempt its definite and foresighted regulation. It is one of the great problems which we must meet, one of the most difficult ones, and one of the most essential ones; for, when our mineral fuels are gone, so far as we can see now, the only practicable source of power will be sun-power or water-power, and will be difficult to use for many of the purposes for which coal is now employed. We have done, to some extent, this thing with our metal ores, but I will not dwell on that aspect of the subject.

There are a good many other types of conservation which we must keep in mind in relation to the land. For example, it has been said over and over again, and correctly, that the greatest tax a farmer has to pay is the tax levied on his land by the rain. In other words, it costs him more year by year for the land carried by erosion from the surface into the streams than it does to pay any other tax which falls upon him; and a singular beauty of our methods of cultivation which allow this is well illustrated by the fact that after the farmer has lost this soil from the field where it belongs, it goes down into the channels of the river, where it does not belong, and costs the nation millions of dollars to take it out. If there ever was a loss that cut both ways it is this loss of soil from the farmer.

If we have been short-sighted in the matter of mineral fuel, we have been vastly more short-sighted in the matter of the

forests. Wood is not less necessary to our present civilization than coal, and the best figures which the Forest Service has been able to obtain (doubtless they are not correct) is that at our present rate of consumption we have standing timber for only about twenty years, and in this connection it is well to add, just as in the case of the man floating in the open boat, that there is no other supply from which we can expect to meet our demands. The Canadians are coming to need all the wood they have; so with the Mexicans. South America is a wonderfully rich continent in forests, but to import timber from that country means that it would be at an expense vastly greater than that of timber grown at home.

We have permitted ourselves to get into a condition where a timber famine is not only likely, but certain, and where the best we can expect to do is to mitigate the famine somewhat, but how much we can mitigate it I do not yet know. How much the use of reenforced concrete and the use of steel and the employment of other construction will help can not be said, but that these will help to a great extent there can be no doubt. The curious fact remains that there never has been a large substitute for wood, and it is a peculiar fact with the employment of these other methods of construction that there is vastly more wood used for construction in the United States to-day than when all the construction was of wood; in other words, we are in a place where we must suffer, and in this case we must pay the bill.

Fortunately, it is not altogether too late, because the forest is a renewable resource, and so we have a chance to correct the faults of the past. That we are trying to do. We have about 165,000,000 of acres of national forests established in the West, and shall have others in the East, and naturally these forests will be brought to the point where they will produce the most timber possible from their physical situation, but we can not expect to meet from one-fifth of the forests of the United States a demand which is exceeding five-fifths, and which is consuming that five-fifths three times faster than it is being produced. In other words, there is distinctly trouble ahead. I said a little while ago that a change in public sentiment was the essential and indispensable factor

in this movement of conservation. It is nowhere truer than in the case of the forests. Four-fifths of the forests are in private hands, and unless the owners of these four-fifths will join in the movement to minimize the timber famine, use their forests rightly, we shall have vastly more trouble than we shall have if they help.

It is certainly true that as our forests are destroyed at the headwaters of our streams, our water-powers suffer, the navigability of our streams suffers, irrigation suffers, and the domestic and manufacturing water-supply suffers. Wherever our streams flow, and they flow from wherever the stream rises in the mountains or in the forests, and they do so pretty much all over the country, there forest preservation is just as important because of the streams as it is because of the other services which the forest renders.

We have been equally short-sighted in allowing great monopolies to be formed for the use of water-power from these streams without the possibility of government control. The idea is growing that it is a fair thing which should win, that the interest of the people at large is greater than the interest of any single man or single body of men less than all the people, and that when Uncle Sam gives us his natural resources it is no more than fair that he should acquire the use of them in a way to do as much good on the one side and as little harm on the other as possible.

THE GOVERNORS' PROCLAMATION

We, the governors of the States and Territories of the United States of America, in conference assembled, do hereby declare the conviction that the great prosperity of our country rests upon the abundant resources of the land chosen by our forefathers for their homes, and where they laid the foundation of this great nation.

We look upon these resources as a heritage to be made use of in establishing and promoting the comfort, prosperity, and happiness of the American people, but not to be wasted, deteriorated, or needlessly destroyed.

We agree that our country's future is involved in this; that the great natural resources supply the material basis

upon which our civilization must continue to depend, and upon which the perpetuity of the nation itself rests.

We agree, in the light of facts brought to our knowledge and from information received from sources which we can not doubt, that this material basis is threatened with exhaustion. Even as each succeeding generation from the birth of the nation has performed its part in promoting the progress and development of the Republic, so do we in this generation recognize it as a high duty to perform our part; and this duty in large degree lies in the adoption of measures for the conservation of the natural wealth of the country.

We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremittingly the attention of the nation, the States, and the people in earnest cooperation. These natural resources include the land on which we live and which yields our food; the living waters which fertilize the soil, supply power, and form great avenues of commerce; the forests which yield the materials for our homes, prevent erosion of the soil, and conserve the navigation and other uses of our streams; and the minerals which form the basis of our industrial life and supply us with heat, light, and power.

We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil wash shall cease; that there should be reclamation of arid and semi-arid regions by means of irrigation and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop power in the interests of the people; that the forests, which regulate our rivers, support our industries, and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil, should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased; that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of all the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.

We commend the wise forethought of the President in sounding the note of warning as to the waste and exhaustion

of the natural resources of the country, and signify our high appreciation of his action in calling this conference to consider the same and to seek remedies therefor through cooperation of the nation and the States.

We agree that this cooperation should find expression in suitable action by the Congress within the limits of, and coextensive with, the national jurisdiction of the subject, and complementary thereto, by the legislatures of the several States within the limits of, and coextensive with, their jurisdiction.

We declare the conviction that in the use of the natural resources our independent States are interdependent and bound together by ties of mutual benefits, responsibilities, and duties.

We agree in the wisdom of future conferences between the President, members of Congress, and the governors of the States, regarding the conservation of our natural resources, with the view of continued cooperation and action on the lines suggested. And to this end we advise that from time to time, as in his judgment may seem wise, the President call the governors of the States, members of Congress, and others into conference.

We agree that further action is advisable to ascertain the present condition of our natural resources and to promote the conservation of the same. And to that end we recommend the appointment by each State of a commission on the conservation of natural resources, to cooperate with each other and with any similar commission on behalf of the Federal Government.

We urge the continuation and extension of forest policies adapted to secure the husbanding and renewal of our diminishing timber supply, the prevention of soil erosion, the protection of headwaters, and the maintenance of the purity and navigability of our streams. We recognize that the private ownership of forest lands entails responsibilities in the interests of all the people, and we favor the enactment of laws looking to the protection and replacement of privately owned forests.

We recognize in our waters a most valuable asset of the people of the United States, and we recommend the enactment of laws looking to the conservation of water resources for

irrigation, water-supply, power, and navigation, to the end that navigable and source streams may be brought under complete control and fully utilized for every purpose. We especially urge on the Federal Congress the immediate adoption of a wise, active, and thorough waterway policy, providing for the prompt improvement of our streams and conservation of their watersheds required for the uses of commerce and the protection of the interests of our people.

We recommend the enactment of laws looking to the prevention of waste in the mining and extraction of coal, oil, gas, and other minerals with a view to their wise conservation for the use of the people and to the protection of human life in the mines.

Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity.

PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR

It is more than a coincidence or a conceit that the form in which the governors of our States and Territories drew up and signed their declaration for the conservation of the country's natural resources resembles that of the Declaration of Independence. It may prove to be as prophetic as the occasion was historic. They certainly began to make new history at that conference in the White House that May. As it is followed up, that occasion will be ranked with the victory for union in the Civil War, the adoption of the constitution, and the Declaration of Independence, in the historic significance of its grasp upon the destiny of the whole country. While the participants in the conference, then and ever since, have greatly impressed others with the profound impressions they themselves received of the momentous importance of the situation they faced and the duty it imposed, they did not attempt to do more than state it, and strike the note to arouse the legislatures and the people to action.

The forces of the nation have already begun to respond to the summons of their final appeal, "Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity." To give definite form, legal basis, and practical effect to the policy thus impressively originated, the President of the United States appointed a National Conservation Commission, composed of representative con-

gressmen with Gifford Pinchot appropriately at its head. They are divided into four sections devoted respectively to the conservation of our land, water, forest, and mineral resources. In view of the facts brought to their knowledge, from sources that can not be doubted, they were so convinced that the material basis upon which not only the prosperity but the perpetuity of the nation depend is threatened with exhaustion that their first attempt is to ascertain the present condition of our national resources. This fundamentally important service they plan to render not only by their own central agencies, but by having conservation commissions officially appointed in every State and Territory, and by the reclamation and forest service, and the Inland Waterways Commission already established by the Federal Government.

Thus they hope to furnish the basis for national and State legislation to preserve and reclaim land from soil-wash, erosion, and waste by drought or overflow; to conserve water resources for irrigation and power, and by bringing navigable and source streams under public control; to protect and replace forests, whether publicly or privately owned; to prevent the waste of material and life in the mines; and to "increase the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of our country" to all its people and their posterity. "In the use of the natural resources, our independent States" are declared to be "interdependent and bound together by ties of mutual benefits, responsibilities, and duties." There the official obligation and action end, but not the people's. For the promoters of the future independence of American citizens fortunately realize the limits of governmental agencies in a movement which must be country-wide and perpetual to be effective. The governors clearly saw and stated the necessity for "the unremitting attention of the nation."

The availability of the associated and personal cooperation from private citizens was not depended upon in vain. The National Rivers and Harbors Congress was the first to seize the opportunity to rally, aline, and bring to bear the volunteer cooperation of all the organizations and individuals who could be made to see that their own interests, as well as their country's welfare, are involved in this movement. This they

did in session at Cincinnati by organizing the Conservation League of America, based on the declaration that "it is of the utmost importance that the natural resources of the nation shall be comprehensively and vigorously developed and utilized for the promotion of the public welfare without waste, destruction, or needless impairment, and subject always to their intelligent conservation, and the effective perservation of the rights and interests of the future generations of our people." Informal assurances of cooperation have already been received from associations as diverse, and yet with a community of interests in this movement, as the National Electric Light Association and the American Federation of Labor, the National Council of Commerce and the United Mine Workers of America, the National Farmers' Congress and the American Civic Association, the Interstate Inland Waterway Association and the National Fire Protection Association. The long list of such organizations is steadily being augmented by others whose members complain of having been unintentionally omitted from the roll as originally published. Their independent prosecution of their own initiative and interest will be in no way superseded or diminished by belonging to the league, but will rather be stimulated to greater vigilance and efficiency thereby. The non-partizanship of the league is declared and assured in the acceptance of the honorary presidency by Mr. Roosevelt and of the honorary vice-presidencies by Mr. Bryan and Mr. Taft. Representatives of both organized labor and capital will serve as active vice-presidents.

No man better fitted by natural ability, forcefulness of personality, and successful experience with the methods to be employed could have been chosen to lead the league as its active president than Walter L. Fisher, of Chicago. A lawyer of high professional standing and success, he has rendered efficient and distinguished service to his city as secretary and president of the Municipal Voters' League and now as president of the City Club. In his initial statement, following his acceptance of the leadership of the Conservation League, which was urged upon him by President Roosevelt, he proves that he has seen and seized the two agencies by which alone it

can fulfil the purpose of its organization and cooperate with the government, namely, publicity and the ballot. Its propaganda of the conservation policy through the exhaustive lists and huge memberships of the voluntary associations already being enlisted in the new crusade, will go far toward informing and inspiring our whole people for the effort to conserve and develop their natural heritage. But still more effective, both as a medium of publicity and a means of practical achievement, is Mr. Fisher's appeal for the citizens' use of the ballot in their own common interests after the fashion of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League. Every candidate for the legislature in every State, and all candidates for Congress, will be asked to indorse the league's declaration of principles, and their response will be published to their constituencies during the pending campaign. Thus, as in Chicago, not only will the legislators' vote and influence be secured for legislation in line with the purposes declared by the governors at the White House, but the people's vote will surely be educated and united so as to send such men to their legislatures and to Congress as will conserve the heritage of their children.

In the success of the President's Commission and this National Conservation League lies the hope of pleading not guilty at last to the arraignment of our insane improvidence which Sir Boyle Roche satirically impersonated by asking a hundred years ago: "Why should I do anything for posterity? Posterity has never done anything for me."

THE TURKISH REVOLUTION

A.D. 1908

EDWIN PEARS A. RUSTEM BEY
PROF. ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY

As is fully told below, Turkey, long the most absolute and autocratic monarchy among nations, joined the flood-tide of democracy, and in July of 1908 wrested a constitution from its unwilling Sultan. The new Government has since had a stormy time. Less than a year after his surrender, the Sultan, in April of 1909, endeavored to regain his power by force. He failed, and was deposed. His son was then made Sultan in his place, but with only a mere fraction of the former autocratic power. The "Young Turks" now rule the Turkish Empire. Unfortunately for them, the other Governments of Europe have taken advantage of the disorganized state of Turkey to snatch from her one by one many of her richest possessions both in Europe and Africa. The fraternity of Christian and Mohammedan proclaimed by the Young Turks in the enthusiasm of their first triumph, proved impossible of attainment. So that now, despite the strenuous efforts of the reformers, constitutional Turkey retains but a shadow of the ancient Turkish domain.

An account of the revolution is here given by an eye-witness, Edwin Pears, a distinguished English authority upon Turkey. Then comes the Young Turks' official viewpoint as given by one of their leaders, the former Turkish "Chargé d'Affaires" at Washington, A. Rustem Bey de Bilinski. Then we give the pronouncement of that eminent European scholar and noted friend of humanity, Arminius Vambéry. Though a Hungarian and a professor at Budapest University, and as such committed to the views of the Austro-Hungarian government which seized Turkish territory, nevertheless Professor Vambéry speaks with a moderation and justice which must command respect.

EDWIN PEARS

THE arbitrary power of Abdul Hamid has definitely come to an end. During thirty years he had put the screw on all ranks of his subjects, until it seemed that the régime of oppression could not cease except with his death. His arbitrary government may be said to date from February, 1878,

when he dismissed the Parliament which he had granted while the Conference of the Powers was sitting, in December-January, 1876-1877. With the dispersal by force of its members he commenced the system of personal government which continued till the middle of July, 1908. Then, with a sudden explosion, the whole régime was blown into space.

Abdul Hamid had begun his régime of arbitrary rule by appointing Ministers who were left without power. After a while, and somewhat ostentatiously, he put under them assistants who were known to be hostile to their chiefs. The Ministers themselves became mere clerks. In a conversation ten years ago, one of them remarked that the system of corruption then universally prevalent would never cease until the Sultan was changed. On my replying that the reputation of the heir to the throne did not inspire confidence, his answer was, "We shall get back the government of the country into the hands of the Ministers, instead of its being in those of the Palace clique." In order to reconcile the Ministers to their undignified position, they were allowed to fill their pockets at the expense of the state, and corruption increased in every department. Then the results of misgovernment and arbitrary rule began to show themselves everywhere. Custom-house duties were divided between the Exchequer and the officials. Mining concessions were heavily paid for in bribes both at the Palace and at the Ministry of Mines. Legal decisions were bought and sold or were obtained by favor. The Valis, or Governors, paid for being appointed, and contributed a portion of their salaries to the Palace gang which kept them in place. In return no inconvenient questions were asked as to their extortion in the provinces. Public meetings were forbidden in the capital or in the provinces, and this to such an extent that no wedding festivity or dinner party could take place without the permission of the authorities and the scrutiny of the list of invited guests. The attempt was made even to prevent evening parties and balls at wealthy European houses, and when, with the aid of the Embassies, this demand was resisted, agents of the Government were stationed around the houses to forbid the entrance of Turkish subjects. In every newspaper office not a line was permitted to be printed

until it had passed the censor. No mention was ever allowed to be made of political events in Egypt, a country which, if a historian had only to depend for his sources of information upon files of Turkish newspapers, would be considered by him to be still under the direct rule of the Sultan, as it was before 1879. The word "Armenia" was not permitted to be printed. "There is no such place," said the chief censor. "Macedonia" was tabooed also, and this to such an extent that in the translation into Turkish of St. Paul's message, "Come over into Macedonia and help us," it was difficult to obtain permission to print the phrase, which the censor claimed should have substituted for it the names of the three provinces into which Macedonia is now divided. Theatrical performances were censored with equal severity. "Hamlet" was forbidden because it spoke of killing the king: so also were "Julius Cæsar" and a host of French historical plays. Every one remembers the hideous massacres of the Armenians, the greatest crime of the reign, in which probably the victims did not fall short of 100,000; but few English readers realize the inconvenience and loss of trade caused to British and other European merchants and the cruel wrong done to the Armenians by the strict execution of an order which has been in force for ten years forbidding any of them to journey from one place to another in Turkey.

To secure the execution of the Sultan's orders, a great number of spies had gradually come into existence. They belonged to every rank in life. Small fry only received a matter of £3 a month; one man, a foreigner, is known to have obtained £90 a month. Out of the Budget of Turkey no less a sum than £1,200,000 had to be set aside last year for this army of spies. They worried the souls of Ottoman subjects, Moslem and Christian alike. Upon the reports furnished by these men,—and a spy must find out something in order to justify his existence,—thousands of men belonging to every class of the community were haled for secret examination to the Palace or before the police authorities. In very few cases were those arrested sent for trial. In the majority they were dealt with arbitrarily. Some were sent to prison for long terms and cruelly treated. A large number, especially of

notable Mohammedans, were banished from the capital. I may remark in passing that this form of punishment for the most notable of the discontented was a great mistake on the part of Abdul Hamid, because it came to pass in time that in every province of the Empire exiles were found of ability and energy above the average, and full of a sentiment of hostility toward the Government. They became the missionaries of revolution. In some of the provinces, as in Erzeroum, the exiles were so numerous and so superior to the Governor and other officials that they practically became the rulers of the province.

The system of espionage was extended at an early period, but cautiously, into the army. It destroyed its *esprit de corps*, and created a strong current of disaffection among the officers. Even twenty years ago a Turkish officer informed me that, excepting by name, he did not know any of his brother officers in his regiment. There is no common mess among them, and they were sure to be reported if they were seen conversing with one another. Suspicion ruled the conduct of every public official. Everybody was suspect. Spies were set to report upon spies. One lot of censors spied upon another. The local post was abolished because it facilitated conspiracy. Letters in the Turkish post were ostentatiously opened and delivered open. Nobody was trusted. These and many other causes created widespread disaffection throughout the country. Yet there was no sign of a Young Turkey Party until 1906. I maintained, and I believe with truth, that while disaffection was almost universal there was no organization among the disaffected. Arminius Vambéry, who knows inner Turkish life very thoroughly, states that, owing to misgovernment, every Turk at heart has been ready to belong to the Young Turkey Party for many years; and the statement is correct. Still years passed and Young Turkey did not organize itself. In 1906, however, the Moslem fugitives who had escaped from Turkey and many Armenian exiles formed an organization for pressing reforms upon the Sultan. It had its headquarters in Paris. Many of its members had been condemned in their absence to imprisonment and to the confiscation of their property. Though the new organization is not more than

two years old, the refugees had received a notable addition to their numbers by the flight from Constantinople of Mahmoud Damat, the brother-in-law of the Sultan, and of his son, Sabah-ed-din, who is now one of the most distinguished leaders of the Revolutionary Committee.

The tyrannical interference of the Government with the comfort and liberty of each individual alienated every section of the community and scattered disaffection like gunpowder over all the Empire. The spark which was to lead to the explosion was thrown by Abdul Hamid himself. To explain how this came about, we must glance at the recent history of what is conveniently called "The Young Turkey Movement." I have already referred to Turkish subjects, mostly Moslems who, in order to avoid arrest, or from dissatisfaction with the conditions of life in Turkey, fled the country. To do so was treated as treason, for permission to leave was invariably refused. They had recourse to stratagems of various kinds. For example, three of the Sultan's own household arranged with a British ship coming from Russia to enter the Bosporus just before sunset, show her papers, and then pass through the Bosporus and Dardanelles without stopping. By the time she reached a spot half a dozen miles north of Constantinople a launch shot out from the shore and ran quietly alongside, and within twelve or fifteen hours the fugitives were outside Turkish territory. They were educated Turks, who would not endure life under a régime of harrying espionage.

Misfortune makes strange bedfellows; if any one had predicted that Turk and Armenian would make common cause against the tyrannies of Abdul Hamid he would not have been believed. Nevertheless, about October of 1907, such a union was effected. It probably dates from a congress held in Paris of two Turkish and two Armenian societies. All agreed to form one society, and this took the name of the "Committee of Union and Progress." Arabs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Armenians, and others joined the society. They decided upon immediate action, in order to obtain the establishment of a Parliament or dethronement of Abdul Hamid. Their operations in Turkey were largely aided by women. The first six months of this year were spent in preparations. As

disaffection among the Turkish troops was perhaps more widespread in Macedonia than elsewhere, the committee at once commenced operations there. Hunting Bulgarian bands and facilitating Greek bands were not to the liking of Turkish officers. The troops under them were mostly unpaid, and so long as the European Powers took keen interest in that country it was impossible to rob the Christian inhabitants. A mutinous spirit was incipient everywhere at the beginning of July. In Seres half the men mutinied and demanded their discharge in the second week of that month. Disaffection was early visible at Monastir, and General Ismail Pasha, who had been sent to report upon it, was exiled on his return in consequence of the complaints of those against whom he had reported. The committee soon made great progress among the troops; and Enver Bey, who from the beginning of July was able openly to declare himself an adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress, met with surprising success.

Niazi Bey, in the first fortnight of July, had also openly declared for reforms at Resna, near Monastir. Shukri Pasha, in the same place, had tried to preserve the loyalty of the troops by representing the movement as one favored by Bulgarians and Greeks and against the Faithful. He returned to Constantinople, and was banished by the Sultan to Broussa as having been the cause of, or at least having increased, the troubles at Monastir. Niazi soon formed a band of 300 revolted soldiers and Moslem civilians, took to the hills, and then, with the consent of the inhabitants, took over the administration of the country around Resna and Ochrida. On behalf of the Committee of Union and Progress he declared for a Parliament and for the admission of all races and creeds to equality, and swore he would not desist until the existing system of tyranny was put an end to.

His administration was accepted with astonishing rapidity. The peasants paid their taxes to him. The Bulgarian bands expressed their sympathy, and stayed their hands until they saw what would be the result of this revolt. The Turkish troops for a time also hesitated. On the 15th July Niazi was informed that five regiments sympathized with his movement. Then the Bulgarian bands hesitated no longer.

During eight months the committee had been pursuing its work secretly and thoroughly, not only in Macedonia but in Constantinople and other large cities, Turkish women always aiding. Though there were female spies, yet the manner of life of Turkish ladies offers many facilities for carrying messages safely which are not at hand for men, and neither spies nor ordinary police agents dare search Turkish women. The precise nature of the intended movement was probably unknown to all but three or four of the leaders of the committee. Meantime the Sultan had learned of the growth of the movement directed from Paris, but had been unable to check it or to learn what were its ramifications. He was informed daily of the development of the movement, and took measures to crush it. On the 19th of July eight hundred soldiers arrived at Monastir. Shemshi Pasha, with two battalions, went there also from Uskub. His troops refused to fire on their Moslem brethren. Shemshi himself, as he was about to start for Resna, was shot. This was followed on the 20th by the killing of the colonel-in-command at Seres. Macedonia had practically declared for the abolition of the existing régime, and the province had, as by magic, accepted the dictatorship of the representatives of the committee. Greek bands had been notified that they would no longer be tolerated, and their bishops were informed that they would be held personally responsible if more outrages were committed by their coreligionists.

As reports poured in to the capital of the revolt in Monastir, in Salonica, and of disaffection even in Adrianople, the Sultan became more and more alarmed. He had invited Ferid Pasha, the then Grand Vizier, in the early days of July to communicate with the heads of the army and take measures to punish the discontented. Ferid pointed out that this was not the business of the Grand Vizier, but of the Minister of War. To those who know Turkish history the reply will appear natural. Under ordinary circumstances military officers would consider such a slight to their Seraskeir as one inflicted upon themselves. Thereupon the Sultan, instead of leaving the matter to his Minister of War, took it into his own hands. If there is one institution in which he has had con-

fidence it is in that of espionage. To set spies at work and then to set others to spy upon them has been his great panacea against all political troubles. He ordered some forty spies to report upon the conduct of the troops, and, of course, to send the names of those officers whose loyalty to him was doubtful. The mission of these men at once became known, and was resented by the whole body of the officers. It was the spark applied to the powder. Men who had hesitated to join the disaffected party now saw their safety in throwing in their lot with those who were demanding reforms. I am assured that up to this time the word "Constitution" had not been mentioned. The soldiers, however, now telegraphed to the Palace their demand for reforms and for the assembling of a Chamber of Deputies. Abdul Hamid soon learned that this demand was backed by nearly the whole of the Third Army Corps, that is, by all the troops in Macedonia. The Sultan ordered troops from Smyrna to support those in Salonica who were believed not to have joined the revolt. The two bodies, those in Salonica and those on their way from Smyrna, were to attack the Monastir troops.

Before giving the order to march, however, the Sultan, according to Moslem custom, required the sanction of the Sacred Law of the Sheri. He was proposing to send Moslems to fight Moslems, and against that the restrictions of the Sheriat or Sacred Law are specially strict. Application, therefore, was formally made to the Fetva Eminé, that is, to the head of the Court of the Sacred Law charged with the issue of Fetvas. These documents are decisions; and the manner of obtaining them recalls to those familiar with Roman Law the *responsa prudentum*, "the answers of the learned in law" of the Romans, from whom the practise of obtaining them was adopted. They are authoritative, are carefully treasured up, and form precedents for future use. The question was put in the usual form: "Is war justifiable against Moslem soldiers who rebel against the sovereign's authority?" But the demands of the discontented and a statement of facts had to be produced in order that the question might be answered.

The Fetva Eminé, as one occupying so lofty a position in the Moslem world, is usually a judge of the highest ability.

The actual occupant of that position is one who has the confidence of all Moslems in Turkey on account of his independence and piety. From the Christian point of view he is a fanatic. "He would not shake hands with me," said one of the ex-Ministers in discussing his conduct a few days ago with the writer, "because I am not regular in my prayers." But he is incorruptible. He is probably eighty-five years old, and is not only so devoted to his own ideal of conduct but also so universally respected that he cares nothing for the judgment of men, be they Sultans, Ministers, or paupers. Accordingly, when the Fetva was asked for, both sides held their breath in expectation of what his decision would be. He carefully examined the petitions and demands of the troops, and then came his answer. Substantially it was that the demands for reforms, for the redress of grievances, and for better government were not against the Sacred Law, and consequently, if a Fetva were pressed for, it would not sanction a war by Moslems upon Moslems.

Thereupon the troops which were on their way to Salonica were sent back to Smyrna. The news soon became known, and the army in Salonica declared that they would not fight against their brethren in Monastir. From that position to making common cause with them was but a short step. Then came a telegram from Monastir, on the 21st or 22d, in the nature of an ultimatum, demanding reforms or abdication. The troops had sworn not to lay down their arms until the Constitution had been established.

The Sultan, in the mean time, had been making every effort to secure the loyalty of the army and navy. In the first fortnight of July he promoted two thousand officers in the navy. Fifty-five columns of the Turkish official papers were filled with promotions of officers in the Second and Third Army Corps.

The Sultan met his Ministers in long sittings at the Palace on the 20th and 21st and 22d of July. The telegrams before them showed the army in revolt, and demanded an answer to the ultimatum. No one dared pronounce the word necessary until the Court Astrologer was carried in upon his sick-bed. He had had very great influence during many years, and is

understood always to have spoken with more freedom to the Sultan than any other subject. He is mistrusted by the committee, but ought to be forgiven for having been the first to pronounce the word Parliament. On the 22d, Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, was dismissed.

Kutchuk Said and Kaimil Pashas were sent for. The Sultan recognized that he must bow to the storm. Each of the two men whom he had summoned had at one time believed his life to be in danger from Abdul Hamid's vengeance. They were summoned by Abdul Hamid as men known to have the reputation of being favorable to constitutional government and to British institutions, and therefore likely to be popular. On Wednesday, the 22d July, the Sultan published an Iradé declaring that Parliament would be summoned. Within twenty-four hours Constantinople was electrified by the news, and went delirious with joy.

All ranks and classes joined in a cry of delight. The Turkish newspapers played a bold and splendid part. The Iradé spoke only of a Parliament. The Turkish papers chose to interpret it to mean all the rights that had been granted in Midhat's Constitution, a document which, during thirty years, has been idealized by the Turks into the symbol of liberty. The popular cry became at once "Vive la Constitution" and "Vive le Sultan." The newspaper proprietors, by concerted agreement, bundled the censors neck and crop out of their offices. A new cry, taken up everywhere, "Down with the spies," made it dangerous to interfere with the popular movement. Word was passed round that on Friday, the 24th, the Sultan would visit St. Sofia. Pera, Galata, and Stamboul burst out with the greatest display of bunting which I have ever seen. The streets were crowded, and Abdul Hamid would have had a triumphant reception if he had ventured out. An enormous crowd, however, gathered before Yildiz, and clamored to see the Sultan, keeping up a continual shout in favor of him and of the Constitution. The Sovereign, though he did not consent to go through the streets, showed himself after some time at a window, and was frantically cheered by a mob composed of about equal numbers of Moslems and Christians. He was accompanied by the new Grand

Vizier and other officials, and publicly declared that henceforth all his subjects would be treated alike.

Sunday, the 26th, was specially devoted to a demonstration at Yildiz by a crowd of mollahs and softas, whose cries for the Sultan were alternated with "Down with the spies." Once more the Sovereign showed himself, and, as we learned afterward, was sworn by the Sheik-ul-Islam on the Koran to respect the Constitution. Next day an order was issued abolishing the item in the budget from which the spies were paid. The crowd on Sunday passed from Yildiz to fraternize with the Armenians, with the Greeks, and even with the Bulgarian Exarch. "Equality and fraternity; no distinction of men on account of their creed," was the note of all the speeches delivered.

On Tuesday, the 28th, the committee formally demanded the dismissal of Izzet and Tahsin Pashas, the chief advisers at the Palace, of Ismail, the head of the Artillery Department, and of poor old Abdul Houda, the astrologer, distrusted as a reactionary. Meantime the Ministers of War and of Marine, both men who are reputed to have amassed large fortunes at the expense of the services, had been dismissed. Habib Melhamé, probably the most inoffensive of the family of that name, had returned suddenly from his holiday, had gone immediately to the Palace, and, having left after his interview by the first express, was captured as he was leaving Turkish territory, and has since been brought back to the capital. One of his brothers, Nedjib, was arrested on Tuesday, the 11th of August. Another brother, the Minister of Mines, the notorious Selim, managed to escape on an Italian steamer. He and Izzet were the first to escape, and it is probably true to say that the same ability which had enabled them to amass large fortunes led them to be the first to see that the crisis was upon them. Others in a similar condition appeared to think that the storm would blow over, and are now in prison.

It has been for years noted among Turkish reformers that Midhat and his friends made a mistake in not requesting the representatives of the Powers to take an official note or *acte* of the proclamation of the Constitution. The committee determined to be warned, and, therefore, took means to obtain

from the Sultan a declaration, which was made on the 31st July, to the representatives of the Powers, that he had sworn to abide by the provisions of the Constitution. Thereupon followed the swearing in of the troops in Constantinople, the oath to the Sovereign being ostentatiously conditional upon his being loyal to the Constitution. When this was done for the ordinary troops, the petted and trusted Palace Guard requested also, and were permitted, to take the like oath.

On the 30th or 31st, Kutchuk Said committed his first blunder, for which alone he deserved dismissal. The political prisoners, with whom the prisons had been crowded, were released immediately after the Sultan had sworn to observe the Constitution. Some of the poor fellows as they were let out were delirious with joy. They passed from dark and dirty prisons to be received by excited crowds of friends, to be placed in carriages, and to be cheered and accompanied to their homes by men and women shouting, laughing, weeping at the sorry spectacle some of them presented, shrieking with delight for the new order of liberty. But then came the liberation of nearly a thousand ordinary criminals, including many robbers and cutthroats. Instantly the remark flew from mouth to mouth that this had been done to create disorder. Who has done it? Said's explanation was that in the great prison the ordinary criminals threatened to burn down the prison if they, too, were not liberated with the rest. Therefore all were set free. The excuse was too flimsy to be received by those who remembered that Said was jointly responsible with the Sultan for the suspension of Midhat's Constitution.

As if this fault were not enough, Said soon after committed one which looked like an attempt to aid the Sovereign in violating the Constitution. It had been judged advisable to issue an Imperial Decree or Hatt, emphasizing certain points in the Constitution. Said and the Sheik-ul-Islam were charged to draw up the document. As soon as it appeared, the jealous eyes of the editors of the Turkish papers at once saw that it had varied Article 27 of the Constitution, which provided that the Sultan should name the Sheik-ul-Islam and the Grand Vizier, and implied that the other ministers should

be named by the Grand Vizier. By the new decree the Sultan was to name also the Ministers of War and Marine. Such a change of course might make him master of the situation. The excitement was intense. For the first time ugly rumors were about. The Sheik-ul-Islam, whose conduct throughout has been statesmanlike, at once resigned, but only on the 9th of August explained why he did so. He declared that he and Said had been jointly charged to draw up the decree, but that Said had not even consulted him on the matter. Bad faith was suspected; but the papers, while condemning the error, suggested that it was merely clerical. A minister with whom I discussed the matter attributed the blunder to the *cacoëthes scribendi* of Said. But he was too suspect to be allowed to repeat an error so grave. There was but one cry. Said must go. He resigned, and in doing so gave general satisfaction.

On Thursday, 6th August, a new Ministry was formed. Brave old Kaimil became Grand Vizier. I believe he is on the wrong side of eighty, but he has always been true to the principles of constitutional liberty.

But the movement, hopeful though it is, is still in the experimental stage. Perhaps the best that can safely be asserted is that it is almost inconceivable that Turkey can relapse into the condition in which it was two months ago. So much is pure gain. But there are other and difficult problems. In spite of the declaration of the Sheik-ul-Islam, made to me with absolute sincerity, that liberal though the Constitution is, Islam is still more liberal, I may be allowed to have my doubts. These doubts are not based upon the knowledge of the great sources of Islamic law, as to which His Highness speaks with authority, but on some knowledge of history. Has a Moslem people ever admitted non-Moslems to equality? I think not. Can it? I wait to see. Can a people of various races and creeds with an Asiatic race in majority make a constitutional system work well? I am hopeful. There is a large fund of what may be called political aptitude among the peoples of Asia Minor: the Turk has the instinct of a conqueror and a lover of liberty, and until the accession of Abdul Hamid was free in expressing his opinions. The Christians in the ephories of their churches

have never altogether lost the habit of discussing semi-political questions.

The Assembly of 1877 made an encouraging display of parliamentary talent, not mistaking oratory for statesmanship, as some of the young parliaments are disposed to do. The success of its successor depends very largely on the question whether the dominant Moslem majority will really concede equality to the Christians. Inshallah!

RUSTEM BEY DE BILINSKI

Three points are especially interesting in connection with the remarkable change which has taken place in the condition of the Ottoman Empire. First, the unprecedented manner in which one of the most despotically governed countries in the world has acquired freedom; secondly, the prospects of a satisfactory working of the new order of things and its permanence —in other words, the prospects of real reformation which the transformation offers; thirdly, the feelings with which the modified situation in which Turkey finds herself is viewed by her immediate neighbors and by the rest of the world.

The reestablishment by Abdul Hamid of the Constitution he had promulgated in 1876, and almost immediately afterward suspended, came as a tremendous surprise to everybody, not excepting the chiefs of the Young Turkey party, who did not expect such a sudden fruition of their patriotic labors. Undoubtedly these labors have been very great during the last ten years or so, and marked by an ability and perseverance which reflect the greatest credit on the reorganizer of the party, Prince Sabah-ed-din, own nephew of Abdul Hamid, who, at the early age of thirty, has gained undying glory as the prime agent in the destruction of one of the most infamous and yet most deeply rooted political systems in the world. But the obstacles to success opposed by the ill-inspired genius of Abdul Hamid, and the extraordinary difficulty of weaning the Turkish peasant, who forms the backbone of the Turkish Army, from his almost animal devotion to the Sultan-Caliph, were recognized to be of such magnitude by the party as to cause it to believe that at least two or three years more would be necessary to bring about that general revolt of the troops

upon which it had rightly centered its efforts and which, by depriving the Hamidian régime of its principal support, would bring it to the ground. What hastened the event is that the indescribably wretched condition which has been the lot of the Turkish soldier under the autocracy of the government, and which none but men of his admirably patient and disciplined race would have endured so long, became at last intolerable to him when he was brought into contact with his fellow subjects, most of them his coreligionists, of the Macedonian Gendarmerie, whose treatment, under European supervision, formed such a contrast to his own. The army concentrated in Macedonia, which represented four-fifths of the military establishment of Turkey, having revolted, the movement spread with lightning rapidity to the neighboring troops in the Vilayet of Adrianople, and from them to those in the vicinity of Constantinople, because it arose from a reaction against unbearable sufferings common to all the soldiers of the Sultan, with the exception of those belonging to the pampered Guard, garrisoned around Yildiz itself, and also because, unlike former mutinies, the rebellion in Macedonia broke out in the midst of a whole Army Corps simultaneously, and thus gave encouragement to other units and divisions to follow suit.

The Young Turkey party had no anticipation of this happy precipitation of events, due to unforeseen causes; but no sooner had the tendency manifested itself among the rank and file to take into its own hands the matter of the reformation of their lot—their object was purely selfish in the beginning, and confined to the desire of remedying military grievances only—than the party intervened through the numerous officers affiliated to its cause, and, adjusting the movement to its general purposes, gave it the significance of a political rising, which led, in an extraordinarily short time, to the attainment of its fundamental program. Herein lies the great merit of Prince Sabah-ed-din and his coadjutors. They were prepared for emergencies because they had patiently established a widespread connection with the regimental officers of the Turkish Army, the great majority of whom had personal as well as patriotic motives for adhering to the Young Turkey creed, but who ran the greatest risks in joining the ranks of the

party. In this way a military revolt was promptly transformed into a revolution; the first, be it noted, which has taken place in the history of Turkey. It is a fact that, so far, all dethronements and other forced political changes in the Ottoman Empire have been the result of conspiracies or revolts. It is a sign of the times that, whereas it has been impossible in the past to bring the Turkish masses into line against the throne, because to them it represented an intangible idol, semi-religious, semi-political, they have been awakened by their sufferings into a notion of solidarity, the underlying element of which is a new-born spirit of criticism in regard to the Sultan-Caliph. The great difference between the Turkish upheaval of 1876 and the present one is that the former represented the ideas of a small group of enlightened patriots, whereas the latter is thoroughly national in character.

Another very remarkable circumstance accompanying the Turkish Revolution, and which justifies the pretty name given to it by Hilmi Pasha, *une révolution sans tache*, is that it has given rise to no excesses on the part of the soldiery or the civilian population. The movement has been, so far, kept well in hand by the Young Turkey leaders, who have used their new-found power with a tact and moderation equal to the consummate skill and dogged perseverance which have led to the triumph of their program. Only two cases of violence against the representatives of the former régime, of which the horrors were sufficient to justify the most terrible reprisals on the part of the population, have been recorded up to date. Fehim Pasha, perhaps the greatest villain of the infamous gang which served as an instrument for the execution of the now defunct policy of Yildiz, was lynched at Broussa by the mob, and another myrmidon of the palace, a notorious spy, was badly beaten at Salonika. For the rest, arrest and imprisonment have been the only forms of punishment to which recourse has been had. As for pillaging or even mafficking, there has been no instance of them. This constitutes the highest testimonial not only in favor of the leaders of the movement, but of the Mussulman population at large, and more especially the predominant Turkish element, which was credited in so many quarters with every instinct of brutality

but has given the world, not excluding the West, which indulges in such complacent self-laudation, a lesson in self-restraint and generosity which should receive ample recognition from the detractors of the race, its English detractors especially, who have been loudest in their denunciations of the "unspeakable Turk." It is only fair to add that it is in England also that Turkey has found her stanchest friends, and that they have always formed the majority of the population.

While it developed without displaying excesses of any kind, the Turkish Revolution has been marked by the fraternization of Mussulmans and Christians, and of Christians among themselves, and, still more astonishing phenomenon, by the surrendering to the Turkish authorities of the "Comitadji" bands of Macedonia. But this fraternization, so far as the majority of the Christians is concerned, is attributable to no permanent feeling. Overjoyed at the suppression of the tyranny which weighed so heavily on them, the Christians, thinking for the moment of nothing else but of manifesting their wild delight, fell on the necks of their Mussulman compatriots, who had already moved to meet them more than half-way. The latter are certainly inspired by a sincere desire for permanent reconciliation. But it is just as certain that the former, or at least certain nationalities among them, will sooner or later, rather sooner than later, freeze into indifference and from indifference pass back to hostility. As for the "Comitadjis," the latest news to hand is to the effect that they are already reverting to their former occupation. This brings me to the second point of my article, namely, the prospects of good working and durability of the new order of things in Turkey.

The Turks proper, the founders of the Ottoman Empire, of which they have always been and will continue to remain the axis, and which is composed of nearly as many nationalities as the mosaic of peoples governed by the Hapsburgs, are giving conclusive proofs of their sincere desire to weld the variegated and, so far, antagonistic populations of Turkey into one whole, inspired by a feeling of common citizenship. This is natural. Chastened by a bitter experience, the Turks have become fully aware that they can only keep together what

remains of the inheritance of Osman, *their* inheritance, through the contentment of the races they have conquered. It is for this reason that the first care of the Young Turkey party in its hour of triumph has been to proclaim and emphasize what, *du reste*, constitutes one of the fundamental principles of the resuscitated Constitution of Midhat Pasha, namely, the equality before the law, under the common name of Ottomans, of all the elements of the heterogeneous multitude which inhabits the Empire. The Turkish population (I am still speaking of the Turks proper) has cordially adhered to this notion of its leaders. Few incidents in history are more touching than the visit paid by a large assemblage of Turks to the Armenian cemetery in Constantinople in order to deposit floral tributes on the graves of the victims of the massacre of 1894 and to have prayers recited, by a priest of their own persuasion, over the butchered dead. Truly, the Turks have shown to extraordinary advantage during the present crisis. Not only have they displayed marked steadiness of demeanor in a situation which would have produced disorderly intoxication in most nations, but they have also acted like men of feeling and refinement, confirming the verdict of those who knew them best that they are "the gentlemen of the East." And they have been well served by their instincts. For, if anything was calculated to placate the Armenians and throw them into the arms of the race from whose midst sprang their arch tormentor, and which, though it did not lend itself to the execution of the sanguinary anti-Armenian policy of the Yildiz—it is the Kurds who are guilty of this revolting complacency—yet has much with which to reproach itself in regard to them, it is this charmingly simple act of contrition and redemption.

The Turks having offered moral reparation, in this and other gracefully inspired forms, to the Armenians for past ill treatment, and the latter having accepted it in the same spirit, while, on the other hand, the reestablishment of the Constitution of 1876 has been already accompanied by preliminary measures of reform and other circumstances which make it imperative on every fair-minded person to give the ruling element in Turkey credit for the earnest desire

and the ability to introduce competent government into the Empire.

It will be seen from what precedes that the Armenians are destined to work in durable unison with the Turks in the remodeled Ottoman Empire. Their financial, commercial, and administrative aptitudes, which are of the highest order, will constitute a felicitous complement to the political and martial virtues which predominate in the Turks. The cooperation of the two peoples will act as a conservative factor of great importance in the new situation.

ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY

It was at the very outset of the recent events in the near East that the public opinion of Europe betrayed an uncommon degree of ignorance and want of experience in political and social matters in connection with the problem before us. To begin with, the great surprise caused by the success of the Young Turkey party is quite incomprehensible. It was in 1864 that I met by chance a few young Turkish gentlemen, engaged upon editing a revolutionary paper, called *Mukhbir*, *i.e.*, "The Correspondent," directed against the then almighty Aali Pashi, whose absolutist tendencies had long ago raised the anger of the younger Turkish generation, who were brought by a smattering of Western political views into collision with the ruling spirit at the Sublime Porte. As time advanced the opposition grew stronger and stronger, and the object of their attack were not only single high dignitaries, but their criticism extended also to the precincts of the imperial palace, whose officials were accused of all kinds of vices and misdeeds, and particularly of leading astray the sacred person of the Padishah, whom, at that time, nobody ventured to assail. It is very natural that after the death of Sultan Abdul Aziz, and during the terribly absolutist and ruinous rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid, the number of the Young Turkish party should have attained excessive dimensions and embraced not only the easily inflammable young members of the Turkish society, but even many of the Efendis and Pashas of a riper age; nay, ladies and young girls took part in secret societies, and as an occasional contributor to Turkish revolutionary

papers, and as a well-known friend to the Turkish nation, I have got letters in my possession in which ladies render thanks for my sympathies shown to their nation and encourage me to further participation in their cause. Considering the very faint knowledge the Yildiz *camarilla* could acquire in spite of the host of dearly paid spies and *delators*, we must not wonder at all that the Western world remained in utter darkness with regard to the part played by Young Turkey in the Ottoman Empire. The number of Turkish revolutionary papers had grown up like mushrooms; their editors expelled from one place took refuge in another. London, Paris, Brussels, Geneva, Athens, Alexandria, and Cairo were successfully used, and the publications of the revolutionary committees, being looked upon as literary dainties, went off quickly in Turkey. Turkish, being a language with which but a limited number of Orientalists are conversant, was not within easy reach of our politicians and publicists, and the proceedings of Young Turkey remained for a long time shrouded in mystery. Of course single explosions of the carefully laid mines could not be prevented, and the quiet outbreak of discontent in Kastamuni, Erzerum, Bitlis, and a few other places may be well looked upon as the forerunners of the military rising in Macedonia. In fact, the proper commencement of the Turkish revolution dates from the time when the meeting of the "Committee of Union and Progress" declared itself to have left the field of mere theory and entered the arena of political activity, which is equivalent to saying: We are now strong enough to come out publicly and to fight, if necessary, for the sacred principles of Right and Liberty.

Now, to speak candidly, I am far from pretending that the firm decision and the strong will of the Young Turkish party would have become master of the situation if Sultan Abdul Hamid had had sufficient means to clothe, feed, and pay his army regularly, and if his soldiers had not looked with envy upon the gendarmery under the command of European officers. No! To go about hungry, naked, barefoot, and unpaid is a sacrifice too onerous even for the most patriotic man, and I am ready to admit that zealous and patriotic officers, like Enver and Niazi, would hardly have succeeded in their very

risky undertaking if the aforesaid privations and sufferings of the soldiers had not acted in their favor. But at the same time I can not help saying that the state of affairs created by the horrible and abominable doings of the Yildiz clique could not have gone on for any length of time. The straw which broke the back of the Turkish camel was ready at hand, and, assuming that the catastrophe might have been staved off for a year or two, there is not the slightest doubt that the apple was steadily ripening, and in any case would have fallen into the lap of the well-prepared party of Young Turkey.

Such being the case, as proved by evident facts, I do not see the reason of the great surprise which the recent events in Turkey have created in Europe. The collapse of the Hamidian rule was, as the result of a long misrule, unavoidable, and in the face of this phenomenon we have no reason to wonder at the unanimity manifested in the movement; we must not be struck by the fact that the whole went off without bloodshed, and that the revolution was accomplished in a peaceful and quiet manner hitherto unheard of. We may reasonably ask ourselves: Whose blood should have been shed? There was no opposition, since the whole nation indiscriminately belonged to the Young Turkey party; no social or religious objection could have been raised, since the teachings of the Koran clearly prohibit the application of despotic and autocratic measures; and no government is legal if it proceeds without taking counsel with public opinion, which we call Parliament. The Koran says: "V'amruhum shura bainuhum," *i.e.*, "the Prophet commanded they must take counsel"; and further it is said: "Any obnoxious measure taken after consultation is preferable to a salutary measure taken arbitrarily." There is besides the standard principle—"Kulli islam nurr," *i.e.*, all Moslems are free, and one must be intentionally blind to pretend that Constitution and Parliament do not suit the social and moral conditions of the Mohammedans, and that there is no hope for a successful introduction of these Western institutions among Mohammedan peoples.

Unfortunately, the proper and just appreciation of the real state of affairs in Turkey has always been checked partly

by ignorance, partly by a preconceived notion, tending to show that we Europeans are the sole chosen people for progress and civilization, and that the man in Asia will be always prevented by climate, religion, and racial peculiarities from attaining that degree of culture on which we pride ourselves to-day. Ideas like these have found expression in the writings of eminent English scholars and politicians, and even the regenerator of Modern Egypt, whose high capacities are justly admired by everybody, is a skeptic on this question. Without trespassing beyond the limits of modesty, I beg leave to say—*Anch' io son pittore*—I, too, have seen something of the Near East, and as my fifty-two years of intimate connection with various nations of the Mohammedan world have given me an insight into the social, moral, and political conditions of the Near East, I can not help saying, the aforesaid disparaging criticism is certainly wrong. Turkey is decidedly on the path of progress, many features of her national characteristics have changed and are continually changing; but similar observations can be only made after a careful comparison between Turkey half a century ago and Turkey of to-day. When, fifty-two years ago, living in a Turkish family as a teacher, I tried to explain natural phenomena in accordance with the laws of physics, which, of course, ran against the superstitious notions of my pupils, I was derided and persecuted. Foreign languages were at that time hardly taught; girls grew up without any instruction at all; and even leading statesmen were utterly ignorant of the geography and history of their own country, not to mention that of the Western world. If we look at Turkey of to-day we shall be surprised at the great advance in the field of public instruction and the steadily spreading enlightenment. Not only central places, but even small towns have got their Rushdie and Idadie (normal and middle) schools, where modern sciences and European languages are freely taught and the younger generation of Turkish society is brought up in a way which will forcibly strike the unbiased European visitor.

The spiritual progress is particularly reflected by the simplification of the language and by the extraordinary innovations in the field of literature. The modern Turkish writer

has divested himself of the bombastic Asiatic phraseology and of the sickening poetical metaphors. He imitates the French and English authors, whose standard works are steadily being translated into Turkish; his muse begins to be more Western than Eastern; and even in the field of exact sciences there are Turks who have gained distinction, and among other instances I may quote the fact that parts of the Hedjaz railway were constructed by Turkish engineers. The consequence of these and many other signs of progress manifests itself in the entire change of views and ideas. Hundreds, nay thousands, of the younger Turkish generation of to-day have thoroughly imbibed the political and social tendencies of the West; they can not be looked upon any longer as Asiatics, but as Europeans, and as modern Europeans, who naturally found themselves strangers in Turkey under the Hamidian rule, and who had to break the fetters in spite of the despotic form of government.

If the Ottoman Empire were out of the way, and not in close proximity to Europe, we might well look with calm indifference upon her struggle and her future. But unfortunately this is not the case. Many European vital interests, political and material, are strictly interwoven with the destinies of the near East, and the slightest shock in Turkey makes itself felt even in the remotest part of Europe. It is for this reason that every friend of the peace and tranquillity of our world must support and encourage the Turk in his present efforts toward civilization, and in his arduous task to heal the wounds of the unfortunate régime of the past thirty-two years. Nobody will deny that the Young Turkey party has shown so far great moderation and wisdom in all its doings, and there has hitherto been no revolutionary movement in the world which went off without any vindictive act and without feelings of revenge against the criminal tyrannic power overthrown. Young Turkey has, therefore, full right to claim our assistance in its need and our indulgence toward the unavoidable mistakes. Judging the present situation in Turkey from this point of view, the recent political changes in the Balkans are much to be regretted, for they augment the troubles in store for the reformers, they discredit the

foresight and capability of those who have put themselves at the head of affairs, for they will be accused of having precipitated the country into a danger which the former, although detested, reign has wisely avoided. Austria-Hungary, which has bestowed so many blessings upon the occupied provinces, raising them from dire anarchy and misrule to flourishing conditions, might have assisted the consolidation of the new rule in Turkey and encouraged the new men in power by postponing the act of annexation for a year or two, as from such an indulgence very little or no injury might have accrued to the policy of the Dual Monarchy, whose strong position can not be shaken by the plots and vaporings of the minor Balkan countries. If the European Powers are earnestly bent upon the avoidance of troubles in the Near East, and if they have sincerely made up their mind to assist the process of revival and invigoration of Turkey, then they must give a trial, and a fair trial, to the Young Turkey party. They must forget the old animosities and rivalry, and, reflecting upon the immeasurable calamity and disaster resulting from an utter collapse in Turkey, they will obviously understand the necessity of sincerely supporting the new régime in Turkey as the only means for a restoration of order and as the bulwark against the threatening danger of a great European war.

THE EXPANSION OF AUSTRIA AND BULGARIA

A.D. 1908

DR. EMIL REICH
MAJOR ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN

Among the striking consequences of the Turkish Revolution was its precipitance of changes long contemplated by neighboring states. Bulgaria, which later, in 1912, was brought into impressive prominence as the chief of the Balkan States, had her formal birth as an independent power in 1908. The Berlin Conference of 1878 had detached Bulgaria from Turkey and made her a semi-independent province. Now her ruler, Prince Ferdinand, took advantage of Turkey's internal troubles, and declared himself and his country wholly free. He assumed the title of Czar or Emperor of the Bulgarians.

Immediately following on this vigorous move, the Austrian Empire took a similar step by proclaiming her annexation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This seizure she at once made good by force. The two provinces had been under Austrian administration since the Berlin Conference; but this formal annexation of them was a great blow both to Turkish pride and to the hopes of the Slavic natives of the provinces, who had dreamed of independence. For a moment Austria's open defiance of her agreement with the other Powers of Europe seemed to threaten a universal war. But neither Russia, the friend of Slavic independence, nor England, the protector of Turkey, was willing to take such extreme action, so Austria's bold step won her the desired prize.

Germany was Austria's ally in the matter, and we offer here the pro-Austrian outlook as given by a noted German scholar, Dr. Reich. This is followed by an account from the well-known English statesman, traveler, and authority upon Eastern questions, Major Colquhoun. It takes England's self-consolatory attitude in its prediction of disasters ultimately to ensue.

DR. EMIL REICH

THE month of October, 1908, inaugurated a new phase in the Balkan problem. By a series of events which were from the outset clothed in what is technically called a *fait accompli*, the entire aspect of the various local, international, and semi-international relations of the states and nations in

the Southeastern Peninsula has assumed a new shape and novel potentialities. For days nothing short of a very serious conflict of interests was expected to follow, and it can hardly be denied that the waves of deeply agitated political and religious passions surged over parts of Europe with no ordinary vehemence. The interests involved are, in more than one case, of a far-reaching character, and, directly or indirectly, the whole of Europe pays close attention to the issue of a crisis that only a few years ago no one would have believed to be amenable to a solution other than that of war.

Fortunately for the higher interests of all concerned, the arbitrament of war has not been, nor will it be, resorted to. We are therefore in a position to take a more dispassionate and a calmer view of the events of October, 1908. In fact, so rapidly have events and persons moved during the last weeks, that it is, I take it, quite possible to find one's bearings and to fix the perspective of the latest "crisis in the Near East" with tolerable certainty. In order to do so, I considered it, of course, my principal duty to secure the most authentic and authoritative information at the very quarters where the events and *faits accomplis* had originated. This valuable information was granted me at first hand and in a liberal manner. As in all great political moves and measures, there was, no doubt, in the latest Balkan events more than one consideration, motive, or preparatory action which has never found its way into the official documents which were put at my disposal. It may, nevertheless, be safely stated that both the principles and the essential facts can very well be gathered from, and properly valued on, the basis of the information obtained. This, I hope, will contribute to a clearing of the atmosphere, and to the conviction that in this latest Balkan crisis, as in most other crises of life, Necessity has played a greater part than has Malice.

The latest Balkan crisis implies events in several Balkan States, and it will be conducive to greater clearness as well as to greater justice if we treat of each of these states separately. I will accordingly first treat of the recent measures of Austria-Hungary; then of those of Bulgaria; and finally of the aspirations of the Servians. Inasmuch as the interests of Turkey

proper must necessarily be taken into consideration in the discussion of each of the preceding points, it is unnecessary to treat of Turkey separately. First, then, as to Austria-Hungary.

In 1866 the Austro-Hungarian Empire lost her last possessions in Italy, the province of Venice. It was but natural that the Austro-Hungarian Government was constantly looking out for compensation for the great territorial losses of 1859 and 1866. It is to the present day not yet clear in what quarters arose the idea of offering Austria-Hungary compensation in the Balkans. Some say it originated in Russia; others maintain it was a suggestion of Bismarck. It is not unlikely that something to that effect was planned at the Ballplatz of Vienna, too. "*Halb zog sie ihn, halb fiel er hin*," as Goethe says. At any rate, when at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, the proposal was brought before the Powers, it met with great favor, England especially manifesting great zeal in the recommendation of an "occupation" of two Turkish provinces by Austria-Hungary. It was in reality one of those moves on the chess-board of Europe which enables all the partners concerned to indulge in the satisfaction of having made a "good" move. Bismarck was glad to think that Austria-Hungary was henceforth obliged, in her own interest, to deviate considerably from the lines of Russian policy in the Balkans. Russia, on the other hand, was not dissatisfied to see Austria-Hungary settle down in the Balkans, where, by anticipated victories over the Turks, Russia hoped soon to have the upper hand. England could not but feel sympathy for the improvement in the balance of power, which, while adding nothing to the strength of Germany, was likely to increase the prestige and resources of Austria-Hungary. It is superfluous to note the reasons why the proposal of compensation in the Balkans was particularly agreeable to Austria-Hungary. If, then, we cast a last parting glance on the famous treaty of 1878, as far as it concerns the present crisis in the Near East, we are fortified in the conviction that what was then done was a matter not of neighborly or friendly kindliness, but a measure growing out of the necessities of the European balance of power.

By Article XXV. of the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary

was empowered to occupy and to administer, to the exclusion of any other sovereign, the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two mountainous and beautiful provinces were then, as they are to-day, inhabited by a people speaking the same Slav languages (Croato-Servian), but in point of religion divided into half a million Mohammedans, a little over half a million Greek Orthodox, and about three hundred thousand Roman Catholics. The men are much more numerous than the women. The two provinces join the southern border of Austria-Hungary, and constitute the hinterland of Dalmatia on the Adriatic. They were, before 1878, the most northern of the European dominions of Turkey. They gave Austria-Hungary a leverage in the Balkans; and since, by the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary was even charged with the purely military administration of the Sanjak of Novibazar, to the south of Bosnia, the Dual Monarchy seemed to have received the tacit mandate to advance to what is relatively very near to Novibazar—to the Ægean Sea.

Austria-Hungary, in accepting the task of full and uncontrolled administration and government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at once set to work in the most efficient way. All Europe at once recognized that Bosnia and Herzegovina were henceforth within "the comity of nations," in that they had passed into the sovereign rights of an acknowledged Power. No stronger proof of absolute sovereignty could possibly be advanced. Much of the law administered in the two provinces is indeed still Turkish law; for, the agrarian customs and usages of Bosnia and Herzegovina being, as they are, very much at variance with those prevailing in either half of the Dual Monarchy, it was necessary to leave the old Turkish law of real estate more or less untouched. This, however, can not affect the right of sovereignty as *de facto* exercised by Austria-Hungary in all matters connected with the administration of law. As a further consequence of that Austro-Hungarian right of absolute sovereignty *de facto*, the Bosnians and Herzegovinians were at once subjected to the law of general military service obtaining in Austria-Hungary, and the recruits of the two provinces were sworn in as soldiers of the Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary. In the same way,

treaties of commerce and all international acts referring to Bosnia and Herzegovina were, since 1878, concluded by the authorities of Austria-Hungary alone. Even in a minor fact of public life that absolute sovereignty *de facto* of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina manifested itself in the least doubtful manner. According to the criminal code in force in the two provinces before the recent change of status, any person insulting the Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary, or a member of his family, was subject to the penalties of *lèse-majesté* proper; whereas similar insults directed against the Sultan of Turkey were, like those leveled at any other crowned head, subject to the minor penalties of ordinary defamation. Of all the former rights of the Sultan in Bosnia and Herzegovina, two formal privileges alone remained in force. One was the permission given to the Mohammedan Bosnians to mention, in their prayers, the name of the Sultan. The other was the permission to hoist on such Turkish minarets, where it had been customary to do so, the Ottoman flag during prayer-time. It would be impossible to invest these two privileges with the faintest semblance of the power of real sovereignty.

For thirty years, then, Austria-Hungary exercised in Bosnia and Herzegovina all and every right and privilege of absolute sovereignty. This is not the place to show in detail that those rights and privileges were, by Austro-Hungarian officials, exercised to the lasting benefit of the two provinces. In several weighty communications sent by various Englishmen to *The Times* in the month of October, enough has been said to bear out the well-known impression of the great efficiency of Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thirty years ago there were no railways in the provinces; now there are over one thousand miles of railway, over two thousand miles of telegraph-lines, and nearly four hundred miles of telephone-wire. Close on seventeen million letters and postcards are now forwarded in the provinces where formerly the postal service was exceedingly primitive. These and similar facts all testifying to the great work of civilization done by Austria-Hungary in a country that had for centuries been in a state of neglect and stagnation have long since been

made familiar to the conscience of Europe. Nobody seriously doubts them, and it is superfluous to insist upon them. What, however, must be insisted upon is the legal fact that this occupation, with all its *de facto* exercise of absolute sovereign power, was by the Congress of Berlin meant to be entrusted to Austria-Hungary, not as that of Cyprus was to Great Britain—that is, for a limited period—but for an unlimited one. In other words, it can not seriously be maintained that the Congress of Berlin viewed the "occupation" of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in a light other than that of an absolute cession veiled temporarily in the guise of one of those legal fictions which, both in private and public law, are only meant as preliminary makeshifts for subsequent realities of a different character. Nor did the Sultan of Turkey view it in any different light. Whatever process of legal interpretation may or may not be applied to the Convention of the 21st of April, 1897, made, in further elaboration of the Berlin Treaty, by Austria-Hungary and Turkey; one point remains stable, clear, and unanswerable—to wit, that the Sultan, in Articles II. and IV. of the said Convention, stipulated, as the only rights of active sovereignty which he could and did claim, the religious privileges mentioned above, and the circulation of Ottoman coins as legal tender in the two provinces. Of these two rights, the first is purely moral; and the second has, by contrary usage, long since become objectless. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there has, these twenty years, been no coin circulating other than Austro-Hungarian coin.

To the Western mind, long since used to definite and clear delimitations, both in political institutions and in political territory, the indistinct legal measures frequently applied in Oriental or African politics offer more than one difficulty. The progress of international history in Central and Western Europe has made for greater plasticity and simplicity, whatever complications may still prevail in the home policy of the various nations. The present German Empire is not a fiction, as was "the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nation." Its territory is completely rounded off and neatly demarcated to within a square inch. Its organization, as a public and

international body, is absolutely clear, and lends itself to no fictions whatever. The same holds good of Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, France, Holland, Belgium, and, of course, of the oldest of all self-contained realms, of Great Britain. The same quality does not, however, attach to countries in the southeast of, or outside, Europe. In those parts of the world the conflicting interests of the dominating European Powers have up to very recent times found it almost impossible to promote the crystallization of political relations in forms of definite, clear-cut, and unequivocal outlines. All the contrivances by means of which Western and Central Europe used, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, to patch up differences between States and nations, between denominations and sects, or dynasties and peoples, and which contrivances have since the French Revolution been either in abeyance or radically removed; all these *enclaves*, "public or international servitudes," "constitutional fictions," and inarticulate "arrangements" of political problems have of necessity been the order of the day in the Balkans. Politics, more especially international policy, are, however, not altogether a legal process; it is preeminently an historical one. Thus, in the present case, it can not possibly be denied that, while the above temporary contrivances and fictions had their complete *raison d'être* as long as the political life of the Balkan nations was in a state of backwardness, they can no longer be held to fulfil a useful function at a time when the political maturity which in Central and Western Europe has caused their disappearance has at last reached the Balkan Peninsula too. In one word, the Balkans, too, have arrived at that stage of political life when crystallization in forms of unequivocal outlines becomes a matter of urgent necessity. Fictions will no longer do; patched-up compromises and obnoxious servitudes can no longer be endured. Those temporary contrivances have outlived themselves, and bring the nations still enduring them into a constantly increasing maze of *impasses*.

This is precisely what has happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The position of Austria-Hungary in the two provinces "occupied" by her became, as a matter of fact, almost

unbearable. As invariably happens in such cases, Austria-Hungary was placed between two evils, and had to decide which of the two was, if submitted to, the lesser of the two. One evil was an unavoidable conflagration in and around the two provinces, owing to the constant intrigues and smoldering revolt of the Southern Slavs, principally the Servians, who hoped to avail themselves of the false position and legally fictitious sovereignty of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the purpose of a sort of Pan-Servianism. Of these very serious intrigues I will at once give the requisite data from official and partly unpublished sources. At present we shall briefly indicate the second evil hinted at above. It consisted in a formal incorrectness, which did not entail any substantial damage on any of the non-Turkish nations in the Balkans, nor on the Great Powers, and which conferred upon the most interested party, on the Turks proper, a considerable advantage. This formal incorrectness was the declaration by Austria-Hungary, made on the 7th of October last, to the effect that she annexed the two provinces; or, in other words, that she named her actual and complete sovereignty by its true name.

It is quite alien to the purpose of this article to attempt denying that in the action of Austria-Hungary there was an element of formal incorrectness toward the Powers who had, in Article XXV. of the Berlin Treaty, entrusted Austria-Hungary with the occupation and complete administration of the two provinces. It is not contended that if a previous effort had been made to obtain the consent of the Powers the procedure would have been more incorrect. On the contrary, the procedure would, in that case, have been formally more correct. Nor is it here meant to use the *tu quoque* argument, for which the history of all the Great Powers concerned supplies more than a goodly number of precedents. It is even not intended to press the well-known tacit condition of all international treaties, the clause *rebus sic stantibus*, to its finest ramifications. All that it is here meant to state is this, that Austria-Hungary found herself in the course of the last two years in a condition of what is commonly called *force majeure*, in consequence of which she was compelled to choose

the lesser evil, as the one that was most likely to bring about the desired improvement not only fully, but also as speedily as no other procedure, least of all an international conference, can ever bring about.

It is now necessary to give a full statement of the facts which placed Austria-Hungary in the position of being under the pressure of *force majeure* over two years before the new régime in Turkey proper profoundly altered the entire political aspect of the Balkans. All of those facts come back to the indubitable, well-organized, and most dangerous attempts of the Servians and Croatians to oust Austria-Hungary from Bosnia and Herzegovina. To the English reader, to whom Servia or Croatia appears merely as small fry, such attempts and efforts on the part of a little nation against a great Power do not seem to be invested with much importance. However, a very short reflection of how these factors are constituted in reality will induce even a casual observer to view Servian and Croatian intrigues and agitation in Austria-Hungary in quite a different light.

Croatia, Slavonia, Styria, and Carinthia, let alone Istria, or, in other words, entire provinces of Austria-Hungary, are teeming with several millions of Southern Slavs who talk practically the same language with their immediate neighbors, the inhabitants of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Servia. If we add the very numerous Serb-speaking population of the south of Hungary proper, we may safely state the remarkable fact that the whole south of Austria-Hungary is in its vastly preponderating majority a mass of people who naturally, and still more in consequence of continuous and active propaganda, deeply sympathize with the political aspirations of the Slavs in Servia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and even in Montenegro. If, then, the Servian secret propaganda of the *Slovenski Jug*, or the "Slav South," as their association is called, should be allowed to advance on the lines hitherto trodden by it, there can be no doubt that Austria-Hungary would soon be confronted with a revolt of nations who are still in the epic stage of heroic traditions and have at all times been desperate fighters. As compared with such a danger, the Polish peril in Eastern Germany is a mere child's play; and it has hitherto

not yet been noticed that the benevolent attitude of the German Emperor to Austria-Hungary is, in the present case, not quite uninfluenced by the fact that the troubles obviated by the act of the 7th of October refer to another Slav center of disturbance. The Slav danger, whether in Poland or in the south of Austria-Hungary, is not a mere bogy.

This will perhaps suffice to show the importance of Slav agitations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in a general way. The impression is indefinitely intensified by a closer study, first of the Press of the agitators, then of their deeds. As to the Press it is probably not out of place to remark that in those parts of the world political journals may be said to wield considerably more influence than they do in western countries. Of literature proper there is very little among the South Slavs. The average South Slav will read hundreds of newspapers before he will read one book proper. The passion for political discussion, unremittingly going on in all the numberless cafés, inns, and restaurants of Bosnia, Servia, Croatia, is kept up almost exclusively by the local Press. It is under these circumstances impossible to minimize the influence of a political organ which reaches the inhabitants of the smallest village and has practically free scope for the spread of its propaganda.

The Servian Press in Bosnia and Herzegovina has published innumerable inflammatory articles, the declared purpose of which is to oust Austria-Hungary from Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was said in that Press, day after day, that the occupation of the two provinces was only a provisional measure, that the Sultan was their true ruler, whereas Emperor-King Francis Joseph I. was only their *Upravitelj*, or pacificator. The Sultan is called *naš uzviseni šuverain*, our genuine sovereign. The ordinances and decrees of the Austro-Hungarian Government for the two provinces have, that Press says, no legal power, in that Austria-Hungary act only *samovljno*, or arbitrarily, illegally. Of the people it is said that it is "sweated." The Austro-Hungarian officials are mere *gladnice*, or beggarly loafers. In the newspaper called "*Otadžbina*," published at Banjaluka, there appeared, on the 14th (27th) of September, 1907, an article under the title "*Pošljednje vrijem*," or the End of Times, giving a most lugu-

brious and totally untrue picture of the alleged misery of the people in the two provinces. In the same paper, No. 8, the 29th of February (the 12th of March), 1908, there appeared a leader which in expression and tendency could not possibly be more inflammatory. It is there said as the upshot of the situation in the Balkans: "*Bratu brat, Svabi rat!*" *i.e.*, "To our brethren we shall be brothers, to the Svab (Austrian) we will be enemies." Racial war is openly threatened. Articles of a similar tendency appear not only in papers published at the capital of Bosnia, in Serajewo, more particularly in the "*Srpska Riječ*," but also in Croato-Servian papers published in Dalmatia, such as the "*Dubrovnik*" of Ragusa. As early as the 21st of April (4th of May), 1907, the "*Narod*" of Mostar openly declared that the Austro-Hungarian occupation in the two provinces must incontinently cease, or that otherwise the ensuing revolution will destroy Austria as a dynamite bomb does a house. The "*Musavat*" of Mostar frequently had articles to the same effect. The Christmas numbers of these papers are full of poems imploring the people in the most passionate manner to free themselves from the yoke of the foreigner. "Now is the time to die for the holy cause of Liberty," says Skrgo, one of the best-known local poets, in one of his Christmas carols. In the "*Musavat*" of Mostar, No. 13, of the 16th of April, 1907, a "jurist" discusses the Article XXV. of the Berlin Treaty and tries to show in guarded but distinctly provocative language that no mayor of a town in Bosnia can legally be held to swear fealty to any one else than to the Sultan of Turkey. Since, as a matter of fact, all Bosnian mayors take the oath to the Emperor-King, it is easy to see in what intention this article was written. So seditious were the articles in the "*Srpska Riječ*" of Serajewo that that paper has, before the end of September last, been confiscated not less than seventy-five times. This paper, as well as the "*Otadžbina*" of Banjaluka, is really the property of the Servian Government represented by a certain Gligorije Jeftanovich, who was handed the sum of 30,000 Austrian crowns, with which sum he bought shares in the printing concern of the paper. The editors of the "*Srpska Riječ*," although the paper is published in the capital of Bosnia, at Serajewo,

have always been Servians. In fact, the whole Pan-Servian Press in the two provinces is directed from the so-called "Cultus-Section" at Belgrade, the capital of Servia, where one Spalaykovich is entrusted with the propaganda. In addition to newspapers, the Servian and Croatian agitators have at times flooded the country with pamphlets of all sizes, one more incendiary in tone and spirit than the other. And lest the cool outsider underrate the force and momentum of all these agitations by means of the written or spoken word, it is sufficient to adduce the following facts: As a result of all the seditious articles, pamphlets, addresses, the Bosnian inhabitants of a large number of places in Bosnia have as late as September last tried to organize meetings and to draw up memorials, the avowed and unavowed objects of which were disloyalty to the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

So far we have considered only the verbal activity of the relentless foreign enemies of the Austro-Hungarian régime in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If now we go to their deeds, we are at the outset confronted with the fact that no fewer than 15,000 Mauser rifles and bombs made in the artillery arsenal of Kragujevatz in Servia were, in autumn, 1907, brought by the conspirators to the frontiers of Bosnia and there deposited in a blockhouse called Krajtchinovacz, as also in the Servian monastery of Banja near Priboj. Some of those bombs were sent to Montenegro, where they were seized by the authorities on the 5th of November, 1907. The Servian conspirators, it appears, wanted to exterminate the members of the family of the Prince of Montenegro, together with that Prince, so as to facilitate thereby the union of all the Western Balkans, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the leadership of a Servian dynasty. Servian bands, under a Servian ex-Minister of War, whose name was General Atanatzkovich, and with the moral and material support of Servian patriotic associations, such as the "*Srpska Bratsha*" and the "*Kolo Srpskich Sestara*," raided Austro-Hungarian territory. Officially, of course, the existence of these bands was repeatedly denied. It is nevertheless beyond a doubt that Servian officers and Servian soldiers were, with the connivance of the Servian Government, sent into Macedonia, as well as into the regions

bordering on Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the manifest object to create mischief and spread the spirit of revolt. Fethi Pasha, the Turkish envoy at Belgrade, knew every movement of those bands, and M. Simich, one of the most active of the Servian agitators, made no secrets about them to earnest inquirers. Nor can it be a mystery to whosoever studies the latest history of the Servian aspirations that they have long since learned to use the assassin's knife as an ordinary political weapon. It is, among other things, an ascertained fact that Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria has, as a rule, and certainly since 1904, abandoned any intention of traveling through Servian territory, except in profound secrecy, and with the passport of a merchant. At Sofia they will, so they say, not be surprised to find some day or other the same sort of bombs, filled with "Schneiderit" or with "Wassit," that were found at Cetinje, in Montenegro.

These, then, were the facts staring the Austro-Hungarian Government in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the face. There was in 1907 and 1908, to the exclusion of any reasonable doubt, a wide and dangerous revolutionary movement among the South Slavs, the one clear and unmistakable object of which was to "liberate" the Slovenes, Croatians, and Servians, *i.e.*, among others, the Bosniaks and Herzegovinas, from the "yoke" of Austro-Hungarian sovereignty. I do not for a moment hesitate to admit that had Bosnia and Herzegovina been an internationally acknowledged member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as is Styria or Carinthia, the revolutionary activity of the Pan-Slovenes, or Pan-Servians, could have been readily dealt with by Austria-Hungary without her drawing upon ultimate resources of diplomacy, and without leaving the ordinary way of quelling disturbances. It can not, on the other hand, be denied that under the actual circumstances in 1907 and early in 1908 Austria-Hungary was most seriously handicapped in her natural desire to defend her sphere of legitimate governance. Once Bosnia and Herzegovina are formally annexed by the Dual Monarchy, it is comparatively easy to foil or reduce revolutionary movements by the legal means of repression. But as long as Austria-Hungary is not, in law as well as in fact, the acknowledged

sovereign of the two provinces, she is not in a position to strike firmly. A Servian intriguing in Bosnia is, legally, intriguing in Turkish territory. How can, under the circumstances, Austria-Hungary take him to task with becoming severity and expedition? One hesitates; one compromises; that is, one renders the situation more and more embroiled and more and more weak. If, again, one is provoked beyond the limit of endurance, as undoubtedly Austria-Hungary has been by the Slovene revolutionaries, then nothing remains but war proper. To the incessant cabals and plots of the Slovenes and Servians the Austro-Hungarian Government could have replied in one way only—by marching on Belgrade. This means war, and would have been only another confirmation of the experience which Austria-Hungary had in 1878, when, despite the mandate of the Powers, she had to conquer the two provinces by a regular campaign. I do not in the least attempt to press this point. Yet it is perfectly clear that, just as Austria-Hungary was obliged to possess herself of Bosnia and Herzegovina by right of war, or *droit de conquête*, even so she would have unavoidably been driven to maintain that conquest by a new war with the South-Slavs. This much the most prejudiced of her critics can not but admit.

When things had come to that pass, when war seemed the only issue out of an intolerable situation, the Turks by their otherwise admirable political revival precipitated events in such a manner that a statesman of the caliber of Baron Aehrenthal had no other choice left. By the introduction of constitutional government into Turkey it became at once manifest that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina might claim to be represented in the Parliament of Constantinople. As a matter of fact agitators have claimed it; see especially the "*Srpska Riječ*" of the 22d of September, 1908. Nor could it be said that the law of Europe was formally against such claims. In reality it strengthened, nay encouraged, such claims. For were not Bosnia and Herzegovina still Turkish in law? The new Constitution in Turkey thus added a most dangerous weapon to the arsenal of the countless foreign enemies of and secret plotters in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Herzegovina. The time had come. Austria-Hungary

needed a *fait accompli* to obviate war, and to render her position at least endurable. To submit the question to a Conference would have involved months, perhaps years, of negotiations, without absolutely insuring peace. In an ever-famous case Austria-Hungary had acquired the conviction that even the formal previous consent of the Powers, obtained by means of laborious and costly negotiations, did not obviate the terrible war of the Austrian Succession. On the other hand, a firm action would, it was confidently hoped, obviate war. The events have justified this expectation. Can it be seriously called in question that Austria-Hungary has, by its act, rendered war in the Balkans a matter of very doubtful possibility? That process of crystallization which has in the last thirty years been the dominating principle of the historic growth of the Balkans; that process making for clearness, accurate delimitation of power, and peace—that process was understood and acted upon by Baron Aehrenthal. Is that really a crime? Is an act based on the prompt understanding of the meaning of historic currents or ideas to be considered an infraction of the law of nations? Above the law of nations there is the history of nations and its superior law.

The process of crystallization repeatedly referred to as *the* feature of contemporary politics in the Southeast of Europe, has been proceeding with such rapidity that a formal and cordial understanding between Turkey and Bulgaria is now almost a certainty, if not a *fait accompli*. In Bulgaria, too, the historic growth of events and facts so outstripped the growth of legal doctrines that it became, for Prince Ferdinand and his people, a mere matter of necessity to render the situation more defined and clear by articulating the facts in the form of an imperatively needed declaration of independence. The Turks themselves have admitted this much by their deeds and their conciliatory attitude to Bulgaria, if not by words. As soon as hopeful negotiations were started by the former vassal and suzerain, all Europe applauded both the magnanimity of the Turk and the boldness of the Bulgarians. Under these circumstances it is not necessary to add any further details to a question the satisfactory solution of which is close at hand.

As regards the various aspirations of the Servians, it is difficult to see what "compensation" the Powers in conference could possibly offer them. Territorial compensation could be given only at the expense of the Turks or of Austria-Hungary. The former is excluded by the official declaration of Great Britain, France, and Russia; the latter can not seriously be thought of for a moment, in that it would constitute the classical *casus belli* in the Balkans. Servia will, no doubt, obtain a seat on the Danube Commission and certain privileges not accorded her in the Treaty of 1883. Her Pan-Slovene or Pan-Servian aspirations are for the time being doomed to failure. In all the preceding statements of fact regarding the revolutionary actions of Servia in Austro-Hungarian territory, I did not at all mean to sit in moral judgment on a nation so old, so valiant, and so gifted. I stated the facts; I drew the logical conclusion from them; but it is far from me to condemn the Servians altogether. They try to do what all nations attempt doing: they want to assert themselves. According to the geographical and historical situation in space and time, each nation does that in its own way. All I claimed was the right of Austria-Hungary to do it in her way.

The upshot, then, of the much-maligned actions of Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and of Bulgaria on the other, is this, that the perennial crisis in the Near East has been advanced by several most important steps toward a permanent regulation and crystallization of the indistinct, amorphous, and thus dangerous situation in the Balkans. Turkey may perhaps effectively claim some financial indemnification from Austria-Hungary; at any rate, she can obtain again full control of the Samjak of Novibazar, which Baron Aehrenthal spontaneously offers to her. She may also hope to improve her international position by an abrogation, or partial reformation, of her Capitulations. The question of the Dardanelles will not be raised at present. Crete is in reality no difficulty whatever. War has been obviated, and no substantial damage has been entailed on any one of the Powers, great or small. Has crisis ever been more salutary? Can the statesman by whose thought and promptitude the larger part of this so-called crisis has been brought about be characterized by no fitter

title than that of a law-breaker? To him and to many an anonymous politician in the Balkans all Europe owes no small gratitude for the clearing of a political horizon on which ominous storm-clouds used to gather with fatal celerity. The *amour propre* of several Powers may have felt uneasy as long as the necessities under which Baron Aehrenthal acted were not known. It is hoped that these necessities will now be understood with somewhat greater readiness.

ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN

Any attempt to look at the Near East from the point of view of the Austro-Hungarian nationalities is rendered especially difficult by the fact that questions of foreign policy are excluded from parliamentary debates in those countries. The only assembly in which such subjects can be discussed is the so-called "Delegations," two bodies composed of members representing in equal proportions the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom. One-third of the members of the Austrian Delegation are chosen by the Upper Chamber of the Reichsrath, and are usually men connected with the Imperial Court; while the rest, chosen by the Second Chamber, are mainly ex-ministers and lawyers and soldiers of high professional rank. The Christian Socialist party, which is really the Clerical party under a new guise, represents the only democratic element; and now that the Austrian Government has adopted a Clerical attitude, it is assured of their support. The attitude of the Hungarian Delegation seems to be equally favorable to a "Clerical" policy (and in Bosnia-Herzegovina the Clerical attitude has predominated); while other reasons, to be touched on hereafter, secure the support of Hungary for Baron Aehrenthal's views. Not even from the Bohemian members of the Delegation is severe criticism to be expected; and the result is that, with grave internal dissensions on the subject, Austria-Hungary is able to present an unruffled front to the world in the matter of her foreign policy.

It is, however, necessary to penetrate beneath the official surface in order to appreciate the attitude of Austria-Hungary, not as a State, but as a conglomeration of nationalities, toward the Near-Eastern question. While it would be impossible in

the limits of this article to give any idea of the numberless eddies and torrents which go to make up the "Whirlpool of Europe," we may endeavor to trace some of the main currents, and to show how they are setting at the present time. It is, of course, a truism to say that these internal conditions, this play and interplay of conflicting forces, have been determining factors in deciding the policy which has recently brought Europe to the verge of war. The strained relations between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy rendered necessary some definite and decisive action on the part of Austria; and the question of the subject nationalities—a burning one in both Austria and Hungary—is inextricably bound up with the Balkan policy of the great Powers.

The Slavs, and their inconvenient national obstinacy, form internal problems for Austria, Hungary, and Germany; and, of these three, the first alone has acted with real statecraft in placating, instead of irritating, that nationalism. Nevertheless it is Austria-Hungary that appears just now as the aggressor, thus ranging herself definitely on the German side in the struggle of Teuton *versus* Slav. That Hungary should give countenance to anything projected by Austria at the present stage; nay more, that she should actually suspend hostilites and help to "keep the ring," is sufficiently significant. One need not look far for the explanation of her attitude. Hungary, in the words of Bismarck, quoted by M. René Henry, is "nothing but an island in the middle of a vast sea of Slav peoples; and, having regard to her numerical inferiority, she can only secure her safety by leaning on the German element in Austria and on Germany." An impression exists that Hungarians are necessarily anti-German because of their struggle with the German house of Hapsburg and its influences; but, having won this fight, the Magyar seems to be convinced that the Slav, not the German, constitutes the true danger. It must not be forgotten that, as part of the historic lands of the Hungarian Crown, Bosnia-Herzegovina should eventually be restored to the Magyar State; but no inconvenient stress has been laid on this at present. It would certainly not help to solve Hungary's difficulties that two million Slavs should be added to her.

Turning to the events which led up to the present Balkan crisis, one needs to take a comprehensive view of the situation in order to fit the actors into their proper places. The domination of the Balkans and an outlet on the Ægean—this is the prize. Germany and her *avant-garde*, Austria-Hungary, play for it on one hand; Russia on the other. Russia purchased the neutrality of Austria during the Russo-Turkish war by the secret convention of January 15, 1877, which gave in advance the status in Bosnia-Herzegovina which the Treaty of Berlin afterward formally confirmed. The acquiescence of King Milan, of Servia, was secured by a promise, formally ratified, that after a while his country should be permitted to expand into "Old Servia"—the Macedonian vilayets. Some time later he learned that a similar pledge had been given to Bulgaria. M. Victor Bérard, in "La Révolution turque," gives a succinct description of conflicting policies at this period. Great Britain and France wanted to Europeanize Turkey, acting through the central Government. Austria and Russia, on the contrary, desired a surgical operation—"autonomie ou anatomie." Then followed "les belles années pour l'entente Austro-Russe," developing into the Mürzsteg program and the so-called "mandate" to Austria and Russia. Important events, some of them epoch-making, succeeded each other rapidly—the Russo-Japanese War, renewed anarchy in Macedonia, the intervention of England, the financial scheme, the Moroccan imbroglio, the royal meetings of 1907, the judicial reforms for Macedonia, and finally the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, which, M. Bérard declares, put an end to the Austro-Russian monopoly.

The first sign of independent or rather competitive action was the railway war. Austria announced the concession from Turkey for a line to run through the sandjak of Novi Bazar, designed to connect the Bosnian system with Mitrovitza and Salonica. A storm rose among the southern Slavs; and Russia replied with a counter-project for a Slav line from the Danube to the Adriatic. Bulgaria pressed for the connection of her system not yet completed. Italy expressed her desire for a line from the coast opposite Brindisi to Monastir. While the excitement caused by these projects was still simmering, the

Turkish revolution, like a thunderbolt, altered the whole situation; and hardly had the reverberations died away when a fresh complication arose.

It is tolerably certain that, although Austria recognized the necessity, in view of a reformed Turkey, of making permanent the hold she had established in Bosnia, she would never have chosen such a time and method for announcing her intention had not Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria forced the pace. Having been assured of Austro-German support for his pretensions to independent Czardom, in return for neutrality in regard to a step which was bound to embitter the rest of the Slav world and particularly the southern Slavs, Prince Ferdinand thought a bird in the hand worth two in the bush, crossed the Rubicon, and left his confederate Aehrenthal to follow with the annexation, to arrange with Turkey, and to meet the reproaches of Europe. Moreover, the astute diplomatist of Sofia, after arranging his difference with Turkey, executed a sort of double insurance, and in a triumphal visit to St. Petersburg reaffirmed the quondam reliance of Bulgaria on Russia. Subsequently it was announced that not only public opinion, but Government policy in Bulgaria was inclined to support Servia.

At this point it is necessary to consider the position of Servia herself. Although it has suited Austria to represent Servia's futile intervention as gratuitous, she had an irrefutable claim to a hearing. Her position was settled by the Treaty of Berlin, without regard to her aspirations; but the Powers who settled that position had also a moral responsibility toward the little kingdom that she should not be stifled or starved by her politico-geographic conditions. Before the Treaty of Berlin she had access through Turkish territory to the Adriatic; but the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina drew an Austrian cordon round two sides of her; and her only other outlets were the long journey by the Danube (also controlled at the Iron Gates by Austria) and the Salonica railway whose freights are prohibitive to agricultural produce or cattle, which are Servia's only exports. Servia became, therefore, the economic prisoner of Austria; and any attempts to find other markets than those of Austria were frustrated. The

"pig war," which seemed comic to Europe at large, was life or death to the Servian farmer.

When, therefore, Servia perceived that her economic disadvantage was to be perpetuated, she lost her head in the fervor of patriotic indignation, and made a fatal mistake. This was the claim for territorial compensation in the shape of a strip of land in Bosnia which would give Servia connection with Montenegro and access to the Adriatic. Had Austria made it plain at this juncture that, beyond the annexation of provinces already under her control, for which she was prepared to pay a monetary compensation to Turkey, she had no ulterior motives, the crisis might have passed. But Servia's blunder, and the indiscretions of her press and her Crown Prince, gave an opportunity for a "lesson to the Slavs," which Baron Aehrenthal and his supporters in Budapest and Berlin were not sorry to seize. Accordingly it was declared that Servia's attitude was a menace to Austria; and it became clear that Servia had no course open save to "eat the leek," submit to disarmament or risk all upon a desperate hazard.

Were it simply a question of Austria-Hungary, a great military power with an aggressive policy, pitted against Servia, an agricultural state with no policy at all, the conclusion would be foregone. But no move in the Balkan game is really isolated; and the present situation is no exception. Here we see Teuton and Slav again in conflict. The struggle of Austro-Germanic and Russian influence for predominance in the Balkans had entered a fresh stage. Servia and Bosnia are pawns in the game; Bulgaria has achieved the dignity of knighthood, and shares with Poland the honor of being one of the two pivots on which the situation turns. Austria's great chance of a free hand with Servia lay in the obvious inability of Russia to make any move at this stage in her career—an inability which Baron Aehrenthal, in his long experience of Russia, believed himself to have accurately gaged. At the same time it was, to many people, an incredibly rash policy which ranged a predominantly Slav State like Austria-Hungary, with all her internal dissensions, against the Slav world, with Russia at its head. Austria, hitherto regarded as holding the balance in Middle Europe, now, at a crisis in her

history, threw herself into the Teutonic scale. In return she receives that support of her policy by which Germany, also turning her back on a traditional policy, inflicts an unforgettable humiliation on Russia. Bulgaria, whose conduct has never displayed any altruism, can not regard with equanimity the disappearance of the buffer-state between herself and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

As for the annexed provinces themselves, there is no remedy save to agitate constitutionally for autonomy within the Empire. Austria, as has been said, has treated her other Slav subjects with generosity. Unfortunately for the Serbo-Croats of the annexed provinces, they have fallen, not into the hands of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who has become comparatively liberal and constitutional in his ideas, but into those of his heir and "the new Andrássy," Baron Aehrenthal, the exponents of a new and vigorous foreign policy. It is no secret that the Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, for so long a time a "dark horse," has developed strong ideas, and is by no means likely to be a colorless ruler. He is of the clerical reactionary school, a Hapsburg of the old type; and his hand is visible in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Catholic propaganda, which is causing such bitter heart-burning among the Mussulmans and Orthodox. This is the country where the people, prince and peasant alike, actually preferred Islam to Catholicism at an earlier period. Nor is the bitterness allayed by the system of trade monopolies given to foreigners (nearly always German Catholics) and the openly avowed intention of permitting, if not encouraging, emigration so that German colonies may be planted on the soil. All this, added to the red-tapism of Austrian bureaucracy and the denial of the right of free speech, the press, and public assemblies, makes the lot of the Bosnian patriot a hard one indeed; and yet, if he has patience and can control his people and keep them in the country, he may win in the long run. His is the unconquerable tenacity of the Slav, against which the Prussians and the Magyars alike are vainly contending. It used to be taken as a sort of epigrammatic truism that the twentieth century belongs to the Germans. So far, however, the Slavs have more than held their own.

The suggestion that triadism should supersede dualism as the basis of the monarchy supposes the erection of a third (Slav) state made up of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Servia. Hungary might possibly support the project if the new state were to be part of the lands of St. Stephen; but it is hard to see how Austria would profit by such a scheme. Moreover, the southern Slavs are not encouraged by the experience of Croatia; and Servia would resist to the death any such attempt—one which, indeed, Europe could hardly contemplate quietly. A more practicable scheme is that of reorganizing the Dual Monarchy on a federal basis, in which it would be possible to recognize the national aspirations of each race. This scheme has one drawback in the fact that racial and geographical boundaries do not coincide; nevertheless it is a practical proposal, and as such is the greatest menace to the Magyars, who would lose through it their political ascendancy in the State. The views of the heir-apparent on these subjects are not clearly known; but he is above everything German and Ultramontane, and seemingly believes that by a policy of sitting on the safety-valve he can reerect the Empire of Metternich. In foreign policy he and Baron Aehrenthal are evidently in favor of "l'audace, toujours de l'audace."

Austria-Hungary's true position in Europe is as the intermediary between Germany and Russia. Herself made up of mixed elements, she holds the balance between Teuton and Slav. The Emperor, Francis Joseph, in the last forty years has worked patiently to maintain the balance *within* his empire, which was the only sure foundation for securing its external safety. This policy seems to have been abandoned. The question is how far the internal strength of Austria-Hungary justifies her. The army, reorganized since 1866, is a splendid instrument, highly finished; but its racial composition is still as mixed as it was in 1820, 1840, and on other occasions when, in Italy, Croatia, and Galicia, the effects of race feeling were found so disastrous. In the Italian campaigns of 1859 and 1866 there were desertions which seriously embarrassed the Austrian operations. Slavonic regiments could not be induced to serve in Croatia. In the Prussian campaign of

1866 large numbers allowed themselves to be captured without striking a blow; Italian regiments passed over to the enemy with bands playing; while the famous Hungarian legion of General Klapka was formed of deserters from the Austrian army. During the Prague riots in 1897, Czech troops refused to serve against their countrymen. Moreover, Magyar support has been secured only as part of the Magyarizing policy which will eventually disrupt the lands of St. Stephen. It carries with it obligations which may be used as a lever to uproot the present basis of Dualism.

Austria-Hungary is playing a game in which apparent victory now may cost her dear in years to come. Does Germany intend to build up a strong and independent Austria-Hungary? Is she not, rather, interested in preserving the conflicting elements within that conglomerate state? What these conflicting elements are has been stated, in barest outline, in this article, space forbidding any reference to religious and social struggles which are waged irrespective of race. Three facts emerge from the tangle. The Hapsburgs are irretrievably pledged to the Hohenzollern hegemony; the Magyars dig their own graves; and the Slavs, throughout Europe, are being goaded afresh into national consciousness.

THE REFORM OF THE CONGO HORROR

ANNEXATION OF THE CONGO FREE STATE TO BELGIUM

A.D. 1908

JOHN DANIELS M. VAN HOESEN

The civilization and development of Central Africa have been left to the labors of the twentieth century. In the opening of these tropic jungles to trade and to the civilization which must slowly follow, the first steps were taken as far back as 1876 by Belgian merchants. These, under the guidance of their Sovereign, King Leopold, began planting trade stations far up the huge Congo River. In 1885 their labors were recognized by Europe in the establishment of the "Congo Free State" under King Leopold's rule. By degrees, however, the world became aware that the Belgians were bringing little of civilization to the Africans, but much of cruelty and suffering. Unnamable atrocities were reported, especially in the way of "mutilations" of the natives, the cutting off of a hand or foot.

As the tale of the "Congo Horrors" waxed ever darker, public sentiment became aroused both in America and England. Congo Reform Associations sprang up in both countries; and these finally in 1908 succeeded in compelling a change, by which the irresponsible "Congo Free State" was ended. It was formally annexed to Belgium, and thus the whole region passed as a colony under the control of the Belgian Parliament. This body soon stopped the "horrors," which probably had never reached the extremes with which rumor charged them. Just how far we may really consider the charges established is here told by Mr. John Daniels, who was Secretary of the American Congo Reform Association. The Belgian view is then given by M. Van Hoesen in an address to the American people originally published in the *Independent*. M. Van Hoesen speaks for the Belgian King. His words were prefaced by the *Independent* with the editorial note: "We are authorized to state that if etiquette permitted King Leopold to express his views concerning the Congo controversy, they would be those which follow."

JOHN DANIELS [1]

ON August 20th, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies voted to annex the Congo Free State to Belgium as a colony. On September 9th, the Belgian Senate followed suit. The double-monarch, Leopold, King-Sovereign of the Independent

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State of the Congo and King of the Belgians, has, in both capacities, set his official seal to this legislative action by consenting finally to give away the Congo with one hand and receive it back with the other. Thus, after years of public agitation and governmental negotiation, the so-called "Belgian Solution" is given as an answer to the Congo Question.

The Congo Question has forced itself upon the world in two chronological stages—the first stage concerning a fact, the second a remedy. The question of fact arose in the middle nineties, as a consequence, on the one hand, of the reports of travelers, missionaries, and Government officials to the effect that the most inhuman cruelty and butchery were being practised upon the natives of the Congo Free State, in central Africa; and, on the other hand, of the out-and-out denials of Leopold and his agents. Between the accusations and the denials, the public was at first puzzled and skeptical. But from 1895 onward the charges came in with such increasing frequency and from such an ever-greater variety of trustworthy sources as finally to compel belief, and the "Congo atrocities" became stock for common conversation. These atrocities, related in detail by those who had witnessed them, and given added vividness by actual photographs from the scene, made such an indelible impression on the popular imagination that to this day many people of the class whose knowledge of events is gained from newspaper headlines vaguely identify them with the entire Congo Question.

But, even at the outset, it was perceived by those who looked deeper that such specific outrages were only accompanying symptoms of an underlying disease to which the whole system of administration in the Congo had fallen victim. This disease was not at once fully diagnosed, but very soon it became clear that at the core it was a case of "rubber" and "profits." Nearly all the accounts of atrocities made the attempts of the officials to force the natives to bring them more rubber for export the root of the trouble. As early as 1895, so well-qualified an observer as Mr. E. J. Glave, the explorer, wrote, after an extended journey over the State, that the basic cause of the prevailing wretched condition seemed to him to be the "frantic efforts to secure a revenue." His in-

sight was increasingly confirmed as time went on, and as the mass of evidence, which accumulated month by month and year by year, was analyzed, there gradually arose a public demand throughout the Western world, but most vigorously in England and the United States, in which countries Congo Reform Associations were organized in 1904, for an impartial and authoritative investigation of affairs in the Free State. The essential issue had ceased to be one of "atrocities" and had become one of the fundamental system of Congo administration.

And in November, 1905, approximately ten years after the accounts of misgovernment began to circulate, that issue was disposed of once and for all by the publication of the Report of the Congo Commission of Inquiry. The appointment of this Commission in July, 1904, had been forced upon Leopold by the increasing manifestations of public indignation, and by urgent representations from the British Government. Its three distinguished members, Edmond Jansens, Giacomo Nisco, and E. de Schumacher, spent four and a half months in the Congo, holding hearings and taking testimony in different localities. As, after their return to Europe, month succeeded month and the findings were not announced, the public began to surmise that a crushing verdict of guilty had been brought in. And so it proved when at last, after eight months' delay, the Report was published. Its damning effect would be hard to exaggerate. Not only did it substantiate the gravest of the charges which had been made, but it went further, and reduced these various charges to their common denominator, so to speak, in an underlying Congo "system" of merciless commercial exploitation of the natives. In a word, it proved that Leopold had established not a state, in any true sense, but a gigantic trading company, with all other considerations subordinated to profits. This Report has been the Gibraltar on which the Congo Reform Movement, now grown to such proportions, has rested firmly, needing no additional foundation. Leopold and his agents have, it is true, continued to reiterate denials, and in uninformed quarters have gained some credence; but, in the light of the decisive evidence at hand, these denials are ridiculous. The conclusive

character of the Report has not been more impressively put than by one of Leopold's most distinguished Belgian subjects, Professor Félicien Cattier, of the University of Brussels, who is probably the leading authority to-day on matters of Congo administration.

In the preface to his recent book, "A Study of the Situation in the Congo Free State," Professor Cattier said: "The publication of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry transformed, as if by a stroke from a magic wand, the nature of the Congo Question and the direction of the discussions to which it gave rise. For a heated dispute as to the existence of abuses, it has substituted a calmer consideration of the necessary remedies."

Four possible remedies presented themselves: the institution of thorough reforms by Leopold himself; the taking over of the Congo as a colony by Belgium; some form of international administration; partition among the Powers holding contiguous territory in Africa.

Inasmuch as the Commission's Report had proved that Leopold had torn to tatters the Berlin and Brussels Act providing for "the protection of the natives and the amelioration of their moral and material conditions," it may well be urged that the only right course open to the Powers was immediate intervention to enforce respect for the humanitarian guaranties of these Acts. The failure of the Powers to take such immediate action can only be interpreted as equivalent to a declaration to Leopold that first he would be allowed the opportunity to set matters aright himself. At the time, the press and public regarded these decrees, even should they be enforced, as merely superficial and palliative, and not reaching deep enough to affect the Congo "system." And now comes conclusive evidence that the public was right, in the official report sent to the State Department last November by our late Consul-General in the Free State, Mr. James A. Smith.

Said Mr. Smith, seventeen months after Leopold's decrees were proclaimed: "That the obligations of the Congo Government toward the natives, as provided for in the Berlin Act, 'to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being,' are being openly violated there is not

the shadow of a doubt. The present conditions are those existing under the operations of the so-called reform decrees, promulgated as a result of the report of the King's commission of inquiry of 1904. If they are an improvement over former conditions, it is natural to ask what those former conditions must have been. The remark of a State official, made in my presence, 'My business is rubber,' tersely expresses the attitude of the entire administration toward the native. The latter, so long as the present system is allowed to continue, can expect nothing from an administration whose desire for gain overshadows everything else and causes it to forget the obligations it has assumed toward him. Briefly, the tendency of this system is to brutalize rather than civilize—to force the native into such a condition of poverty and degradation that his future is a hopeless one, and to keep him there."

Such unquestionable testimony as this has been accepted by the two Powers who have most bestirred themselves in the case, the United States and Great Britain, as final proof of the necessity of interventionary action. In an official communication sent to the Belgian Government, Secretary of State Root said, in *diplomatically restrained language*, but of sufficiently definite import, "The present situation is not that which was contemplated or foreseen when the Free State was called to life by the Powers." And Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared in the course of a debate on the Congo Question in the House of Commons that "The present existing authority [*i.e.*, in the Congo] is perfectly hopeless," and that "If you review the history of the hopes and aspirations with which consent was given to the founding of the Free State, you can not but come to the conclusion that the state, as it exists to-day, has morally forfeited every right to international recognition."

The remedy of next resort was the taking over of the Congo as a colony by Belgium. This way out of the difficulty has come to be known as the "Belgian Solution." Though it was not as King of Belgium or in behalf of Belgium, but in a strictly individual capacity, that Leopold ingeniously established himself in central Africa and subsequently obtained recognition from the Powers as ruler of the vast territory

which he dubbed the Congo Free State; yet, from a number of circumstances, Belgium has tacitly been admitted to have a closer relation to the state than any other Power, and even to possess the privilege of annexing and administering it, provided due regard is paid to the Acts of Berlin and Brussels, and all other relevant treaties and laws. The single fact that the same person has happened to be King-Sovereign of the Congo and King of Belgium has caused a close sentimental tie to exist between the two countries, which has been made stronger by the preponderant service of Belgians in the Congo army and administration. A more apparently legal bond was created by Leopold's will, executed in 1889, by which he bequeathed the Free State to Belgium. The publication of this document presented a spectacle amazing in the light of twentieth-century constitutional and parliamentary government—the spectacle of one man deeding away, as his goods and chattels, the persons, liberties, and property of 15,000,000 people, and a region nearly 1,000,000 square miles in extent. In 1890, as compensation for a loan, Leopold gave Belgium the option of annexing the Congo before his death. It is in accordance with this option that Belgium is now acting. But a factor in the situation stronger than either sentimental ties or quasi-legal arrangements between Belgium and Leopold has been the disinclination of the Powers to jar the always delicate "balance" by attempting or even discussing any other disposition of the Congo (after it became certain that Leopold could not be allowed to retain it) than its passage to diminutive Belgium, itself a "neutral" State, created by the Powers in 1830 from scraps of territory which had been battered back and forth in sorry style between Frank, Spaniard, and Teuton, since the Middle Ages.

For these reasons the "Belgian Solution" has been regarded with most favor as a remedy for the ills with which the Congo is sorely afflicted. It is toward the application of this remedy, in genuine and thorough form, that the British Government has been working for several years, and our own Administration since the winter of 1906–7.

The report of the Commission of Inquiry shows that the great underlying iniquities in the Free State are: first, the

wholesale theft by the "State" of all the land except the merest hut-spaces, leaving the natives landless in their own country; secondly, as a necessary concomitant of the theft of the land, the seizure of all the produce of the land with which the natives might and should engage in legitimate trade for their own betterment, and by the almost total lack of which they are rendered possessionless in their own country; thirdly, the enforcement upon the natives of a so-called tax in labor (that being, as the Congo officials naively contend, the only commodity left to the natives with which to pay taxes) which is so enormous, as actually enforced, that it keeps the natives at work for the State almost incessantly, making of them at last slaves in their own country.

The sections of the Commission's Report which describe in details these workings of the Congo system have been often quoted and are easily accessible to the public. Permission has been gained to incorporate in this statement evidence to the same effect from an equally reliable and still more recent source, which is not yet accessible to the public; this evidence being that contained in the official reports to the State Department of Consul-General Slocum, his successor, Consul-General Smith, and Vice-Consul-General Memminger. Mr. Smith in his report states that on the basis of an actual experiment he made in having rubber collected under the most favorable conditions, with the native collectors the best that could be selected by one of the state's officials, and the locality one of the richest in rubber, he found that given such conditions the payment of the state's tax would require "nineteen days and five hours each month, or practically two hundred and thirty-six days each year." This under ideal conditions! With natives less skilful in collecting and laboring in localities where rubber is less plentiful, it can easily be conceived that the wretched Congolese must work for the state almost every day in the year.

Summing up these conditions, Consul-General Slocum wrote from the Congo in December, 1906: "I have the honor to report that I find the Congo Free State, under the present régime, to be nothing but a vast commercial enterprise for the exploitation of the products of the country, particularly

that of ivory and rubber." And Mr. Memminger wrote: "In general, the condition of the people in the upper Congo seemed unhappy, and led to the conclusion that the system of government under which the natives must live does not promote their welfare. In its operation, the system seems to be one in which considerations of humanity and benevolence are least important."

But why, one may now be impelled to ask, is Belgium so unwilling to undertake the administration of the Congo on terms involving thorough reforms and giving effect to the humane provisions of the Berlin and Brussels Acts? This innocent query strikes down to the very root of the evil. The answer may be given in brief compass. King Leopold has achieved world-wide repute as a promoter and financier of extraordinary ability. The Congo Free State is his supreme business success. The profits yielded by the merciless rubber system to Leopold and his copartners, in their non-official capacity as chief shareholders in the concessionary companies, are, as is proved even by the published figures, enormous. The Belgians have won fame only as a nation of keen merchants and traders. Leopold's business associates in the Congo investment include many of the foremost citizens of Belgium. Undoubtedly the institution of genuine reforms in the Free State would appreciably diminish the profits from the colony and might even necessitate temporary grants-in-aid. Leopold and his fellow stockholders in the rubber companies are averse to any reduction in their present profits. Leopold's dividend-loving subjects are not only disinclined to be money-out in the Congo bargain, but see in it no contemptible opportunity for increased income. The net result of this hearty accord between the business king and his business people is that Belgium, unforced, will not introduce reforms in the Congo. On the contrary, as the *Catholic Mirror*, of Baltimore, has pithily expressed it, "It is wholly unlikely that the Belgium administration will spare any efforts to maintain the highly lucrative *status quo*."

If Belgium, therefore, proves unwilling to undertake the administration of the Congo on conditions consistent with humanity, either some form of international control, carrying

out the ideal expressed in 1885, when the Free State was founded, or partition among the Powers holding contiguous territory in Africa would have to be adopted as a remedy of last resort. But whatever the final outcome, one thing is certain: The "Congo Free State," and all that this ghastly misnomer has come to mean, must go.

M. VAN HOESEN

First a word about the sovereign position of the Congo Free State. According to the anti-Congolese party the state is the creation of the Berlin Conference. This is a mistake. The Congo State is not the creation of the Berlin Conference, because it existed before the conference was even thought of. What is the proof of this? The Berlin Conference opened on November 15, 1884. But on April 22d in that year the United States had recognized the International Association of the Congo as "a properly constituted state." The next day France did the same. On November 8th—that is, one week before the conference met—Germany recognized the Association as "an independent and friendly state." The conference then met, but long before it had come to any agreement, Great Britain on December 16th, and Italy on December 19th, recognized the new state as independent and sovereign. On February 23, 1885, three days before the signing of the Berlin Act, Colonel Strauch, president of the International Association, informed the conference that almost all the Powers (thirteen out of fourteen) had recognized "its flag and status as a friendly and sovereign state." Therefore, what "existed before" could not be "the creation of" the Berlin Conference.

Our critics say that the Congo State owes its existence to the Powers, but this is not so either. The Congo State does not owe its existence to the Powers, because it had come into existence before any of them recognized it. In April, 1884, the United States and France did not recognize a shadow, but a fact. When they said that the flag of the association was entitled to recognition as that of a "friendly and sovereign state" they had in their eye the work done and actually accomplished. What was that work? It was represented by the

efforts from 1876 to 1884. The evidence of the leading statesmen at the Berlin Conference on this point is conclusive.

Prince Bismarck said: "All of us here render justice to the lofty object of the work to which his Majesty the King of the Belgians has attached his name; we all know the efforts and the sacrifices by means of which he has brought it to the point where it is to-day." Baron de Courcel (France) said: "The new state owes its origin to the generous aspirations and the enlightened initiation of a Prince surrounded by the respect of Europe."

Count di Launay (Italy) spoke in the same sense. Sir Edward Malet (Great Britain): "The part which the Queen's Government has taken in the recognition of the flag of the association as that of a friendly Government warrants me in expressing the satisfaction with which we regard the constitution of this new state due to the initiative of his Majesty the King of the Belgians."

From the four leading participants in the conference came, therefore, the unanimous avowal that the Congo State was created by the efforts, sacrifices, and initiative of King Leopold.

I come now to the question of "atrocities." Our enemies say that "mutilations, and especially hand-cutting, began with the collection of rubber." But this allegation is refuted by the evidence anterior to the appearance of Belgians in Central Africa showing that mutilations, and especially the cutting off of a limb (hand, foot, ear, woman's breast, etc.), were common forms of punishment among the blacks. The following reference will suffice: "For the least offense they cut off a finger, a lip, etc.; for more serious they cut off the hands"—Lovett Cameron, "Across Africa," published in 1876.

The conclusions of the "Commission" on the subject of mutilations, expressed in grave and weighty language becoming the seriousness of the matter, are entitled to consideration. They furnish the real refutation of the sensational accounts of cruelties and atrocities:

"The observations made by the Commission, the evidence taken, and the information obtained combine to prove that the mutilation of dead bodies is an ancient custom among the natives, and one which, to their eyes, does not appear as pro-

fane as it does to ours. The fact of cutting off certain parts of a dead body simply satisfies the natives' desire of possessing a trophy or some proof of prowess. It was common practise to mutilate fallen enemies in the wars between the tribes of certain regions. Even now, if natives wish to prove that one of their family is dead and either can not or will not produce the body, they simply show the official in authority his hands or feet. One point, however, is indisputable: no European ever inflicted or ordered such mutilations to be inflicted on living natives as punishment for shortage of labor tax or any other offense. Not a single witness testified to occurrences of this nature, and we failed to come across a single case during the whole course of our investigations."

The law of the Congo State is as clear on the points of murder, cruelty, cannibalism, and mutilation as the law of any civilized government, whether British or Continental. The penal code is as stringently enforced against white offender as it is against black. The fact that there is crime on the Congo only shows that it resembles England, Belgium, France, and other countries in being inhabited by peccant human beings and not by saints. If there is unpunished or even undetected crime on the Congo, it only completes the analogy between it and, for the sake of comparison let us say, England. But the Government is to be judged by its code and the honesty of its judges, whom the bitterest enemy of the Congo has never attacked, and not by the failure of its officers to discover the authors of every crime or illegal offense.

And now a final word in order to dispose of the charge that we are "rubber-" or "nigger-killers." Our opponents say on this point: "It is the system of *making* the natives collect rubber that we attack. The profits of the Congo State are derived from rubber, 'red rubber,' because all the atrocities are committed in collecting it. Sir T. Fowell Buxton, at the anti-slavery meeting on March 29th, threw some light on the motives of those who desire to see the natives free to collect the rubber and sell it to outsiders. 'Rubber has become most valuable. It is an article of necessity for many increasing manufactures, such as the tires for motor-cars and cycles.'"

Our reply is that all Governments have to derive the support necessary for their existence from taxation. In the Congo State the chief resource up to the present has been rubber. In British Colonies in Africa it is alcohol, more definitely the coarse raw spirit known as "nigger-killer."

Which is the more open to objection—rubber, that does no harm to any one, or alcohol, which debases and kills the negro? Moreover, rubber was unknown to the native. In the Lower Congo his improvidence resulted in the destruction of the trees. In exploiting rubber it is clear that the government is not robbing the native of what he possessed. It is an entirely fresh source of revenue, which only became very valuable about 1892. It is one of the most innocent and inoffensive sources of revenue to be found in the world.

In this respect the contrast with opium in India and alcohol in Nigeria is very striking. To keep to Africa, the import of alcohol into Nigeria and Lagos represented about 80 per cent. of the revenue of those colonies. In reply to several questions asking for the stopping of this traffic, the British Government has replied that it is impossible to stop it because the revenue from this traffic alone enables the administration to be carried on. Still no one denies that in this part of West Africa raw spirit is debasing the native and proving a veritable "nigger-killer."

There is a passage in the Inquiry Commission that deals effectively with this very point: "We consider that the prohibition of the spirit trade and the suppression of slavery are the two chief claims of the Congo State to glory. Humanity in general must always be grateful to the Congo Government for having refused to make use of the powerful factor so many others used, as thereby a scourge even more terrible and disastrous than the slave trade was averted from the Congo."

The Congo Government not merely declines to derive any revenue or profit from a traffic in alcohol, but it absolutely prohibits the import of spirit in any form into any part of the Upper Congo, that is to say, above the river Mpozo, which enters the Congo a mile or so above Matadi.

But it may be said that if these two systems are both bad, there is still another which is a good one. What is it? Will

some one point it out? Is it the hut tax? Remember what happened in Sierra Leone in 1898. Is it the poll tax? Look at the occurrences in Natal at the present time. What is beyond dispute is that all taxation in savage countries is difficult—then let us have fair play.

THE EARTHQUAKE OF MESSINA

"THE GREATEST DISASTER OF HISTORY"

A.D. 1908

F. MARION CRAWFORD [1]

The whole world was shocked by the sudden and awful disaster which before dawn on the morning of December 28, 1908, destroyed over a hundred thousand lives in the city of Messina alone, besides slaying thousands more throughout Southern Italy. The sending of provisions and other means of relief to the stricken district began at once, and America was foremost in this generous work. Another instant activity was the hurrying of newspaper reporters and other writers from all quarters to the scene of the disaster. Among all the accounts thus published to the world, the one which seems best worth preserving and giving a permanent place in history as the record of the tragedy, is the following by the noted American novelist, F. Marion Crawford. He was staying at the time in Sorrento, a near-by Italian town.

Messina is situated in a volcanic region, close to the famous peaks of Etna and Vesuvius, and has suffered from earthquakes repeatedly. The most tragic previous quake was that of 1783, in which the death toll was thirty thousand. There have been recent shocks in 1894 and 1896; and the city had a grim premonitory warning in 1905, when a severe earthquake caused the death of over five hundred people. But the survivors went light-heartedly back to their lives and their work. They are now rebuilding their city once more, even after what Mr. Crawford so vividly describes as "the greatest disaster of history."

F. MARION CRAWFORD

The Indispensable City

MESSINA is one of those few indispensable cities of which nature has determined the position for all time. There are not many of these: Constantinople, Bombay, London, New York, and San Francisco are some of the chief ones; and in the second order one may place Alexandria, Carthage-Tunis, Tiflis, and perhaps a dozen more. In Europe and Asia most of these were founded in prehistoric times, where good

[1] Republished by permission from the *Outlook Magazine.*

natural harbors existed at points which were also the natural commercial outlets of rich countries, or, as in the case of Tiflis, they were built in narrow passes and defiles through which the commerce of nations was constrained to flow. All the great cities of the world that are not so situated, from Rome to Peking, Berlin, and Chicago, could just as well have been built a good many miles from the sites on which they stand, because their situations were mostly decided by such trifles as a spring of cold water, a convenient bend in a river, or some slight elevation above a surrounding plain. It is worth noting that not one of the "indispensable" cities stands in a position of such natural strength as to form a defense against foreign invasions. Are the cities of the peace age older than those of the age of warfare?

The greatest disaster recorded in all history has destroyed Messina so utterly that not one stone is left in its place upon another. But this is not the first great misfortune the city has suffered, by very many; for, without going further back than the sixteenth century, we find that in 1573 the plague carried off forty thousand persons, and as many more in 1743; in 1783 a terrific earthquake almost destroyed the city, and its population, which had risen to 120,000 in 1674, was reduced to only 46,000 in 1798. In 1848, the year of revolutions, Messina was bombarded by Ferdinand II. of Naples, who earned the nickname "King Bomba" during that expedition. The destruction he wrought was not wholly repaired till nearly thirty years had elapsed, and during that time another ten or twelve thousand of the inhabitants were carried off by the cholera that raged in 1854. Nevertheless, in 1908 the population had risen to nearly 150,000, being the highest figure attained since 1674.

No one who remembers the Straits as they were before the earthquake can be surprised that the Sicilian city, with its neighboring villages and the towns on the Calabrian shore, should have grown populous in a long period of peace which has been also a time of prosperity. Even in poor, misgoverned, half-populated Turkey, the Bosporus is both rich and beautiful, and Constantinople, destroyed over and over again, is even now one of the fairest cities of the world.

The great Sicilian seaport was never comparable with the

imperial capital of the East, but to my mind the Straits of Messina surpassed the Straits of Constantinople in beauty at all times of the year, and as for the grandeur of the background, no comparison is even distantly possible; guarded on the one side by the Calabrian Mountains, that end in Aspromonte, and on the other by the glorious range that towers up, crest after crest, higher and higher, till it culminates in distant Etna, the rippling, eddying tide swept up and down in ebb and flow between shores as rich in color as an old Persian carpet from Shiraz or Sinè, splendid with pomegranate blossoms and golden oranges, and the dark, glossy green of carob trees, which is more indescribable than the olive itself; and these lovely shores were broken here and there by white-walled villas, with red-tiled outbuildings, and now and then by picturesque villages, charmingly irregular in outline as all really Italian towns are, and warm in many shades of brown, picked out with patches of blazing Oriental white. On the right, as you sailed down, the grand sweep of Messina came into sight within the sickle-shaped arm that embraces one of the finest natural harbors in the world, and the palaces and the houses rose in tiers over tiers from the half-circle of the port to the remains of the ancient fortifications above; it was not a city of ancient architecture, and perhaps it was not very beautiful within, but it was fair to look at across the water from a little distance, and it was marvelously situated. Intensely alive it was, too, like all places which are the natural marts and cross-roads and trysting-places of the world; the harbor was full of shipping, the piers swarmed with busy people, the air was ever ringing with a thousand echoes of men's voices, of moving vehicles, light and heavy, of distant machinery, and of the busy forge, of trains coming and going, of shrill whistling from tugboats, and of the deeper horns of the great steamers that ply between the Western and the Eastern worlds. That was Messina, as I knew it and shall always remember it.

A Voice in the Street

In the hottest days of last summer there appeared in the city of the Straits one of those wandering religious fanatics

whom the Italians call "Nazarenes," a bare-headed, half-starved, wild-eyed man, dressed in a sort of hermit's frock that did not reach his sandaled feet. A boy of twelve or fourteen walked beside him, dressed in the same way, but with a shorter frock that showed his bare legs, and he carried a cow-bell in one hand and a stick in the other. From time to time the two stopped, always at the busiest corners, and the boy rang his bell, as the public criers still do in old Italian towns, unless they are provided with a bugle horn instead. A few grown people and many idle lads and youths stopped at the sound to see what would happen. Then the "Nazarene" lifted up his voice, shrill and clear, to utter his prophecy, and his wild eyes were suddenly still and looked upward, fixed on the high houses opposite; and this was what he cried out:

"Be warned, take heed and repent, ye of Messina! This year shall not end before your city is utterly destroyed!"

But they who were to perish laughed and jeered at the "Nazarene" and went about their business, while he and his young companion proceeded on their way; and the street boys howled at them and pelted them with bits of orange-peel and peach-stones; but they passed on unheeding and unflinching, as if accomplishing a mission entrusted to them as a sacred duty.

History is full of such tales, and people are too ready to believe that they have always been invented after the fact. It would be safer to say that of many prophecies few are fulfilled, and that those few are thrust upon our notice; but we know too little of nature to scout the suggestion that great natural convulsions may be announced beforehand by signs perceptible to a few hypersensitive organizations. To mention only one circumstance which may give a theory color in the present case, the atmospheric conditions which preceded the two great earthquakes of 1783 and 1908 were remarkably similar and were hardly paralleled during the intervening century and a quarter. In both cases a long and destructive drought broke up a short time before the catastrophe in a deluge of almost equally ruinous rain. Last year, in some of the southernmost parts of Italy, from Bari downward, not a drop of rain fell in almost thirteen months; great numbers of

cattle had to be killed for lack of drink; water for the inhabitants was brought by sea from Venice and even from Greece, and by railway from Naples; and in Bari itself, in the month of September, the Neapolitan water was sold for fifteen centimes the quart as a luxury, while the same quantity of good wine could be had for only ten centimes. Even here in Sorrento there was no rain that deserved the name from the 20th of April to the 19th of October; and when it came at last the leaves of the orange and lemon trees were withering, a thing which no one now living remembers to have seen before. Will any one assert that besides these very visible signs there were not others as certain, which only an exceptional and neurotic temperament like that of the "Nazarene" could perceive? Delphi had its motto, the key to all true philosophy—"Know thyself"; but only one word is graven over the gateway of modern science—"Perhaps."

The Fatal Hour

The Southern Italians make great feasting from Christmas until Twelfth Night, in which custom they differ from the Romans. This may be due to the strong influence of Norman rule and northern customs in the South, or to some other reason less easy to find; it matters little, but the fact explains why so many persons from other parts of Sicily were visiting their relatives in Messina and perished in the disaster, while whole families of townspeople had gone to spend the merry-making season with friends and relatives living in the country, and thus were saved. The number of those who were in the city and escaped with their lives is very small indeed, and more than half of those are unhurt, for the simple reason that many of the wounded died of their injuries within a few minutes or a few hours of being taken out of the ruins. Up to this time (February, 1909) there are no trustworthy statistics to be had, but it appears to be very doubtful whether as many as fifteen per cent. of the population are now alive, scattered in groups throughout Italy—say something over twenty thousand out of a hundred and fifty thousand for the city of Messina alone. The proportion of those saved on the Calabrian side is certainly larger—principally, I think, because

the houses in Reggio, Villa, San Giovanni Palmi, and the other towns destroyed were much lower than those in the city. Moreover, as will be seen before long, many persons died of hunger and thirst in Messina, where the whole water-supply was cut off by the ruin of the first shock, and bread was not obtainable at any price for many days; but on the Calabrian side the survivors camped out in the orange groves, and the fruit, which is almost ripe at Christmas in that latitude, stayed their hunger and assuaged their thirst.

Among the direct causes of the enormous loss of life a chief one is discernible in the day of the week on which the disaster occurred, and the hour at which the first shock came. It was on a Monday. Christmas had fallen on the preceding Friday; the Saturday and Sunday had been days of feasting, prolonged far into the night, and followed by heavy sleep. Monday was to be a working-day, indeed, but every one knew that very little would be done during the following week, and that there was no urgent necessity for getting up long before daylight. Besides, even in the South, the land of early rising, few people are astir before half-past five in midwinter, the hour of the soldiers' reveille at that season. But the shock came just at twenty minutes past five; in other words, ten minutes before the most early riser would be out of bed, and more than a full hour before the greater number of the inhabitants usually got up.

A southwest wind was blowing and the sky was black when the fatal moment came, but it was not yet raining. Those who were awake and survived remember hearing the horrible subterranean thunder that preceded the shock and might have been a warning to many in waking hours; it seemed to begin far away and to approach very quickly, swelling to a terrific roar just before the crash. Another instant and the solid earth rose and fell in long waves, twice, three times, four times perhaps, and the houses and churches swayed from side to side, in the darkness; for the young moon had set before midnight, and it lacked more than an hour of dawn. The whole city and the towns on the opposite side of the Straits fell at once with a crash that no language can describe; then followed the long-resounding rumble of avalanches of masonry; and

when those awful moments were over, nearly two hundred thousand human beings were dead, on both sides of the Straits.

Almost at the same moment another sound was heard, almost more terrible than the first—the sound of a moving mountain of water; for the sea had risen bodily in a monstrous wave and was sweeping over the harbor, carrying away hundreds of tons of masonry from the outer pier, tearing ships and iron steamers from their moorings like mere skiffs and hurling them against the ruins of the great Palazzata that was built along the semicircular quay, only to sweep them back, keel upward and full of dead and dying men, as the hill of water sank down and ebbed away. When it had quite subsided, the inner portion of the harbor was half full of sand and mud and stranded wrecks.

Those who say that they "saw" these things are either untruthful, or else, in vivid recollection of sensation, but without the true memory of events, they confuse what they heard and felt with what they might have felt and seen; for though some of the gaslights in the streets continued to burn for a few minutes, the darkness was almost total.

Then a lurid and sinister light sprang up from the ruined city in two or three places at once. The gas mains had burst and had taken fire, and by some strange chance the gas-works themselves stood unhurt outside the city, supplying the great jets of flame with a full pressure.

Blessed were they that died instantly then, crushed in their beds, and happy the few who escaped unhurt, by miracles of chance; for the long agony of those buried alive had begun and was to last many days, and some were to die of hunger and thirst, and many of their wounds, but many also were to be slowly burned to death by the fire that sometimes shot up in high flames, but was creeping and smoldering along below, often out of sight, and unquenched by the rain that fell in torrents day after day. It is not good for healthy-minded people to dwell on thoughts of horror, but facts are facts; three days after the earthquake the fire was still burning in many places, and the smell of roasting flesh was simply overpowering.

Not a tenth of the suffering of those poor creatures will ever be known, or can even be guessed; but when it is remembered that a small number of persons were brought out of the ruins alive after ten days and some after a much longer time, it is easy to believe that thousands may have suffered slow torture for as much as a whole week before death set them free.

The News of Disaster

For once in the modern annals of public disaster, the first reports of what had happened were far behind the truth, though every one took them to be exaggerated. In Southern Italy nature is dramatic, sudden, and violent, and those who live here are accustomed to earthquakes, to eruptions of volcanoes, and even to cyclones as phenomena of at least yearly occurrence. With such experiences always fresh in the memory, one is not easily moved by the first account of a natural convulsion; where we have been told that ten thousand persons have perished, it has often turned out that only a few hundreds have lost their lives, and it has been telegraphed that whole towns were wrecked when barely half a dozen houses have fallen; it is not surprising that when we first heard of the Messina earthquake, late on that Monday afternoon, we should not have taken the report very seriously. "Divide by ten," said one; "by twenty," said another; "by a hundred," said a third, little guessing the truth.

All telegraphic communication was broken, and the railways were wrecked on both shores. The first news was sent by an Italian torpedo-boat, which arrived with some others about four hours after the earthquake had taken place. Apparently, the wave ran down the Straits from its rise, for it reached Malta, a hundred miles to the southward, whereas there was no disturbance of the sea farther north than the Gulf of Sant' Eufemia, which is the deep bay just above Cape Vaticano, the last headland of Calabria before the Straits come into sight.

"Messina was completely destroyed by an earthquake at twenty minutes past five this morning." That was the short message which the captain of the torpedo-boat sent by the first wireless station on the Italian shore with which he could

communicate; and that was all we heard for nearly twenty-four hours.

The telegraph wires once down, the authorities preserved the most extraordinary secrecy in regard to everything that was taking place, and the only news of any sort which was received by the outside world for a long time came from persons who had escaped alive and had fled to Catania, or else from the survivors in Calabria who hastened northward to Naples.

What is quite certain is that the first descriptions of the earthquake were pure inventions. One individual, in particular, assured the Italian press that he had "seen" everything from the harbor; that in an instant after the shock the city had disappeared in a cloud of dust, that he estimated the height of the "tidal" wave at about thirty-six feet, and that he had "seen" an iron vessel washed up bodily against the front of the buildings on the Palazzata and carried back again.

The answer is a simple one. The catastrophe took place in the dark. No one "saw" anything of it, except the flames that broke out, until daylight revealed the truth, and then there were no means of communication between the fallen city and the outside world.

The Italians possess many remarkable qualities, both physical and mental, and they are a lovable people, ever ready to sympathize with suffering; but they are not good organizers, and their chief weakness is an extraordinary liking for "committees" and over-administration generally. This probably proceeds from some lingering belief in those theories which we rightly regard as exploded, simply because they will not work in practise.

The Work of Relief

Almost as soon as the first news reached Naples "committees" for relieving the sufferers were formed everywhere to receive contributions and distribute the money collected; and everywhere a generous haste to give moved rich and poor. Hard-working fishermen of Sorrento gave their savings, women of the people took their little gold earrings from their ears and such cheap trinkets as they possessed and gave them to be

sold; the very beggars in the streets of Naples gave the pennies they had just got in charity; and the rich did their share generously, too. It was not the desire to help, nor the means, that was lacking, but the strong hand and the common sense to apply the means to the end. The committees did not know what to do, and the military and naval authorities spun cocoons of red tape about themselves.

There was a rush for Messina, and steamers of every sort were pressed into the service. Many persons in Naples had relations in the stricken city, every steamship company had its agency, many of the large manufacturing firms had their representatives; it is clear that all these would dispatch trustworthy persons to ascertain the extent of their losses as soon as they found that no communication was to be had by post or telegraph.

Then, too, there were hundreds of newspaper correspondents, including a few foreign ones, all eager to reach the scene; and there were the merely curious, many of whom started with a vague idea that they could "help" in some way; lastly, there were professional thieves without number, hastening to gather a rich harvest among the ruins.

The steamers, mostly small, were thronged with all these people. Even the little boats that ran between Naples, Sorrento, and Capri were sent to the Straits, crowded with passengers, but, unhappily, not laden with provisions. It seems not to have occurred to any of the "committees" that in the universal destruction all food supplies had been destroyed, too; and the Italian torpedo-boats and men-of-war that first reached Messina after the earthquake were not provisioned for a long voyage and could not spare much bread till regular supplies began to reach them.

The consequence of this was that on the third day, and even on the fourth, most of those who had survived more or less unhurt had been without food since the catastrophe, and, between starvation and terror, were no better than madmen, rushing through the city in wild bands to the harbor whenever a steamer came in, and even wading out as far as they could, howling for bread or imploring to be taken away.

The first real assistance came in the shape of two Russian

war-ships that had been lying at Augusta, the ancient Megara, a natural harbor between Catania and Syracuse. They steamed into Messina, moored, and immediately sent parties of bluejackets ashore. Crowbars and pickaxes for extricating the dead and wounded from the ruins were obtained from the Cittadella. The men worked quickly and with exemplary courage, each party being directed by an officer or petty officer, and not a few of them lost their lives in heroic attempts to do the impossible. They were well organized, and worked in regular gangs for a fixed number of hours, at the end of which they were relieved by others, they themselves going on board to eat and rest.

They were afterward joined by the crews of the English ships which were dispatched from Malta. A large number of Italian troops also arrived, chiefly by land from other parts of Sicily, and unprovided with provisions. On the fourth day a military cordon was formed with the object of hindering all civilians from landing or entering the city on any pretext whatever, and of preventing all except the wounded from getting to the steamers in the harbor; finally, all the soldiers and foreign bluejackets had instructions to shoot at sight any person seen searching for plunder among the ruins, and I know from an eye-witness that a large number of robbers were actually killed under this order, which had an excellent effect. A special guard of Italian troops were also told off in a small encampment for the purpose of receiving and taking care of such valuables as were found by the excavating parties.

These Italian troops were half-starved and were relieved very irregularly, but they showed courage and endurance under privations which might well have been spared them. I am far from blaming the military staff for what happened, for the difficulties to be encountered were great, and just when a very large and sufficient supply of eatables, generously sent by Germany, had been landed on the pier, a shock of earthquake raised a "tidal" wave which, though not otherwise very destructive, was big enough to sweep the whole landed cargo over the mole into the deep water outside, where most of the supplies sank instantly and beyond recovery.

The Russian and English bluejackets either returned to their ships for their rations or received them on shore at regular hours. The Englishmen seem to have adopted the latter course, and hundreds of them gave half the food they received to the famished Italian soldiers, some of whom were on duty in the cordon as long as twelve and fourteen hours at a time, and had no proper shelter or rations to expect when they were relieved.

For the barracks of the garrison had been completely destroyed and almost all the men had been killed. There was hardly a building of any size left standing in Messina that was in a condition to be occupied, and such as could be found had to be utilized as hospitals.

The Horrors of Excavation

The earthquake, too, was not by any means confined to the first great shock or even to those which followed it on the same day. For a week and more the disturbances continued at intervals, so that the bombardment, which was so much talked of as a necessary measure, was rendered quite useless long before the hope of saving more lives was extinguished; everything that could fall had fallen.

The results of the first attempts at excavation were in many cases too frightful to be described in detail. It is enough to say that thousands of bodies had been literally torn to pieces by the falling masonry, limb from limb, in ghastly fragments that lay here and there among the rubbish and were greedily devoured by the innumerable dogs that had already descended from the Sicilian hills, drawn from many miles away by the stench that soon filled the air even to a great distance. The soldiers and sailors shot them when they could, but when thousands of human beings were buried alive there was no time to think of protecting or burying the dead; every minute might mean a life, and the men worked on with astounding pluck and energy.

They did their best, and beyond—"Wha does the utmost that he can, will whiles do mair," said Burns, and no praise that has been lavished on brave "Now then, Smith" and his comrades has been beyond the measure of justice.

But the task was too great for their small numbers to accomplish except to a very limited extent. What could a few hundred men do, or ten times their number, when over a hundred thousand were buried, alive and dead, under the ruins of a city built altogether of stone and mortar? I could not help reflecting that very many more would have been saved from the wreck of an American town constructed with mere shells of walls stuck into iron frames that could never fall bodily to the ground. There certainly are arguments in favor of American construction where earthquakes are frequent; but the general counter-argument is that Italian-built houses do not burn easily, as is proved by the fact that San Francisco burned like matchwood after the earthquake, whereas in Messina the slow fire smoldered along, mostly underground, for a week or more and then went out, leaving the great mass of material untouched. The older houses were built with brick floors laid on wooden beams which, with the vast quantity of furniture buried under the ruins, supplied fuel for many days.

It is clear that, as there was no water to be had, it was impossible to make excavations where the fire was burning below; to give it more air would have been disastrous as well as dangerous to the diggers, and nothing would have resulted except, perhaps, a quicker death for some of the poor sufferers who were still alive and in torment under the ruins. The sailors wisely followed the lines of least resistance and saved life where the most lives could be saved in the shortest time.

But it was not enough to bring the desperately wounded to the surface, though that was all the men could do; the rest was surgeon's work that could hardly be done at all under such circumstances, and many perished because it was physically impossible even to give them first aid in time to save them. How could it be expected that a few men-of-war and a small body of troops should be provided with enough stretchers to meet the requirements of the moment? Or that unlimited quantities of antiseptics and anesthetics should be ready, where hospitals and pharmacies had been totally destroyed and everything had to be taken from the comparatively small supplies carried by the war-vessels themselves?

And where there was no shelter, who could be blamed if the wounded lay on stretchers, on boards, on shutters, or even on the stones, under the torrential rain, for a long time, until the surgeons, working for many hours without rest, could give them their turn at last, only to find more than half of them dead of exposure, or already attacked by the deadly tetanus, which made innumerable victims, and was communicated from one wounded person to another, or even by the stretchers themselves.

Some attempt was made to bury the dead, even from the first, out of instinctive decency, but that was not the urgent business of the moment. When there was still life, an effort must be made to save it, and the unbroken moaning and wailing of the thousands who were buried alive came very distinctly to the ears of the workers. So the dead lay everywhere, often side by side in tens and twenties, half naked or altogether so, under the drenching rain; and when night came the wild dogs devoured them. If the unhurt survivors could have been fed, and managed by a few leaders of determined character, so as to be brought back to their senses, they would willingly have labored to carry away and inter their dead fellow townsmen. But most of them were nothing more than starving madmen, blind with hunger and fear, and rushing wildly from place to place, wherever there was a rumor that any food was to be got, and then, disappointed of their empty expectation, dashing furiously to the harbor by the most practicable way, in the equally vain hope that some steamer would take them on board or at least send them a boat-load of bread. Many of the weaker men, as well as women and children, were thrown down and trampled to death in these stampedes.

In cases of protracted panic or public terror all explanations fail. Those maddened creatures were all Sicilians, and familiar with the neighboring country. One lucid moment of reason would have shown them that salvation lay in the hills and on the road to Cefalù and Palermo, where they could have found food and water in many places, and shelter, too, less than twenty miles from Messina. The cordon of troops on the land side had orders to prevent any one from entering

the city, but not from leaving it, as a small number did. The rest were simply beside themselves with fright and starvation, and were continually drawn toward the harbor, as iron is drawn by a magnet.

It was only from those few who left the city on foot that any information reached the outer world for some time. The military command had established a wireless telegraph station by the third day, but it was reserved exclusively for official use, and no official telegrams were published or otherwise communicated to the public, though one or two messages leaked out now and then. I do not know why such secrecy was preserved at a time when the whole nation's sympathies were wrought up to the highest degree, and when any genuine and authorized bulletin of news would have been a boon to thousands.

THE TRIUMPH OF WIRELESS

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY RESCUES LIFE AT SEA

A.D. 1909

EDWARD J. WHEELER
CHEVALIER GUGLIELMO MARCONI
ARTHUR D. H. SMITH

It would not be possible to set an exact date to Marconi's invention of the wireless telegraph, nor even to the beginning of its great practical usage as a means of communication between Europe and America. Marconi actually transmitted a message across the ocean in 1902, but the service proved so very uncertain and irregular as to be useless for commercial purposes until some years later. Gradually, however, the distance over which wireless messages could be transmitted increased. Ships began to use the wireless at sea in 1904. At first its sea use was almost as a toy, a means of interesting idle passengers. Then in January of 1909 there came suddenly the first dramatic occasion in which wireless telegraphy saved from death a whole ship-load of the victims of a mid-ocean wreck.

At once this newest and strangest of electricity's marvels leaped into universal glory as the brightest achievement of the age. We give here an excellent brief account of the rescue by Mr. Edward J. Wheeler, Editor of *Current Literature*, reprinted by permission of the magazine. Then follows Signor Marconi's own explanation of his work; and then an account of the wireless operators, who took part in that first shipwreck which lifted their labor into fame.

EDWARD J. WHEELER

WHEN the ocean liner *Republic* was rammed in a fog off the Nantucket shoals a few days ago, a brand-new tale was added to the annals of Time, and in the long, long duel between man and nature the former achieved a fresh triumph. The story of the collision between the *Republic* and the *Florida* is, unhappily, a commonplace one, except for one thing—the part played by wireless telegraphy. There was a heavy fog. The two ships, going in opposite directions, drew near together. Their fog-sirens were sounding continuously,

but the fog sometimes plays tricks with sounds, deflecting the vibrations so that two ships, as they near each other, may enter a "zone of silence," in which neither may hear the other's warning. Whether this was what happened, or whether the quartermaster of the *Florida* turned the wheel in the wrong direction, in the early morning the sharp bow of the *Florida* came out of the fog and clove the side of the *Republic* amidships, crashing through five staterooms and opening a gap into the engine-room. As the *Florida* rebounded out of sight in the fog, leaving one of her anchors in a wrecked state-room, the sea began to flood the engine-room of the *Republic*, and the engineers had barely time to bank the fires, and then, neck-high in water, flee to the decks. Ten minutes after the collision the ominous sound of axes was heard on the top deck as the crew began knocking away the boat-blocks preparatory to launching the life-boats. But the calmness of the captain prevented any disorder or panic.

"And darkness was upon the face of the deep." The electric lights on the *Republic* had been instantly put out of commission, and nearly 500 men, women, and children, wakened from a sound sleep, confronted the possibility of death without being able to see each other's faces more than a pace or two away. Fortunately, the bulkheads of the ship held, and the sea was calm. Then it was that a young man with the unheroic name of Jack Binns got into action. He was the wireless telegraph operator, and his storage batteries were uninjured. Out through the fog and over the wide waste of waters he sent the ambulance call of the deep—C Q D—over and over again. Every other message that was traversing the air when that call of distress came promptly ceased, in order to give the right of way to Binns. The wireless operator in the Boston navy-yard caught the call and responded. Then came Binns's message: "The steamship *Republic* has been rammed in latitude 40.57, longitude 70, twenty-six miles south of Nantucket." Then the Boston operator got busy. If one could have been up in a balloon and had had eyes to see the unseeable he would have noticed a tremendous force at work at the top of the wireless mast, hurling vibrations in every direction with inconceivable velocity—the messengers of the

ether, racing through space to find succor for the *Republic*. Most of them, scientists tell us, are still racing out on the far frontiers of our solar system, seeking help from Uranus and Neptune; but a few of them were arrested in their flight, taken down a wire and translated into flashes that told the whole story. The wire of the liner *Baltic* caught one series of the vibrations, halted it, and took it down into a little cabin on the upper deck for cross-examination by a young man named Tattersall. The whaleback steamer *City of Everett* did the same thing. So did the *Gresham*, so did the *Seneca*, so did the *Lorraine*. So did a dozen or more of liners, tugs, revenue-cutters, and even a little torpedo-boat, and in a brief time a fleet of ships were feeling their way carefully through the fog to find latitude 40.57 and longitude 70, where Jack Binns kept talking to the world with his finger-tips and telling of the progress of affairs.

It sounds like a fairy story, and it has a beautiful ending, as all fairy stories must have. The *Republic* lies at the bottom of forty-five fathoms of water; but not a soul went down with her. The transfer of 1,500 persons, more or less, including all the passengers of the *Republic* and the *Florida* and the crew of the former, in small boats, in the open sea, to the decks of the *Baltic*, took twelve hours of hard work, but it was effected without a mishap. The lady in a blue silk night-robe who sat down on deck while Jack Binns was calling to universal space for help, and who began combing her hair, remarking that if she was going to die she might as well die looking her best, can still spread her sunshiny philosophy among the living. The stout, motherly looking woman, "in a bath-robe that flamed like a Jamaica sunrise," who went about distributing hairpins and smiles while the green waves were chasing the engineers out of the engine-room, will probably have use for many hairpins in the future. The lady who played solitaire in the midst of the peril can play again. The *Florida* reached port under her own steam, and it is possible she could have done so with all the passengers of both ships; but it is not certain, says James B. Connolly, the writer, who was on board the *Republic*, and who tells the story in *Collier's:*

"One thing that the passengers on this ship are well convinced of is that this Marconi system is a great blessing. There were those two ships lying out there helpless in the fog—the *Republic*, with her engine-room filled with water, unable to turn her screws; the *Florida*, in fear that in attempting to drive ahead she might be driven under. With no wireless working we might have lain out there for a week in that fog; a week at this time of the year means certain bad weather for some length of time; a few hours of heavy weather would probably have settled both ships; and with those 1,500 people driven from the ships to the boats—and here let it be said that neither ship carried half enough boats or life-rafts for a full passenger list—it is a sure thing that between the sea and the frost it would not have been dozens, but hundreds, that would have been lost—possibly the 1,500."

"It is not true," says the Philadelphia *Ledger*, "that the age of romance and heroism is dead. Nothing could have been more thrilling than the episode of the wreck of the *Republic;* nothing finer than the courage with which the human beings involved met the test." "Wireless telegraphy," remarked the New York *Evening Sun*, "has been hailed as a marvel of science, but the service it has done humanity to-day sets it far higher in the people's minds. It will hereafter be considered as indispensable a part of any steamship's equipment of safety as her charts or her navigator. It is the steamship's invisible life-line, by which the safety of her passengers is safeguarded in a degree which no traveler of ten years ago could have dreamed. It is the best of modern magic." In a message to Congress a few days after the collision and the rescue, President Roosevelt recommended a law requiring all ocean-going steamships carrying considerable numbers of passengers to install a wireless service. Congressman Burke has introduced such a bill. A chain of wireless stations already extends along our Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf shores, and even Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines are equipped. This latest of scientific marvels has already become a part of the daily humdrum of life, and there are enterprising schoolboys in most of the coast cities who have run up a pole of their own in the back yard, and who

can sit in their rooms and hear the liners talking to each other out in the ocean. One of our magazine poets, Mr. Oppenheim, has given us recently the "Song of the Wireless":

Who will gather my flying reins and bridle my headlong speed?
Who will hold me back on my whirlwind track as I carry the hidden screed?
Do you think you have conquered time, loud slaves of the narrow rail?
I will leave you a thousand miles behind in the teeth of an open gale!
When the storm-wrecked steamer limps through the mist and the swirling spume,
I push a way to the outer day and tell of the vessel's doom.

. . . . . .

I have come unseen with secret speech, I have guarded the tale unheard;
I have put mine eyes on the journey's end and delivered the faithful word.

CHEVALIER G. MARCONI, LL.D., D.SC., M.R.I.

The following account is printed by special permission of Signor Marconi. It is part of an address delivered by him before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and traces the progress of his great invention in the days before its value had received world-wide recognition.

The phenomena of electromagnetic induction, revealed chiefly by the memorable researches and discoveries of Faraday, carried out in the Royal Institution, have long since shown how it is possible for the transmission of electrical energy to take place across a small air space between a conductor traversed by a variable current and another conductor placed near it, and how such transmission may be detected and observed at distances greater or less, according to the more or less rapid variation of the current in one of the wires, and also according to the greater or less quantity of electricity brought into play.

Maxwell, inspired by Faraday's work, gave to the world in 1873 his wonderful mathematical theory of electricity and magnetism, demonstrating on theoretical grounds the existence of electromagnetic waves, fundamentally similar to but enormously longer than waves of light. Following up Maxwell, Hertz in 1887 furnished his great practical proof of the existence of these true electromagnetic waves.

Building on the foundations prepared by these great men, the author carried out in 1895 and 1896 his first tests, with

apparatus which embodied the principle on which long-distance wireless telegraphy is successfully worked at the present day.

The main feature of the system is the utilization of the earth effect by connecting both the transmitting and receiving instruments between earth and a raised capacity.

The later improvements introduced in the author's system of wireless telegraphy have been directed toward the following ends:

1. To obtain independence of communication or the prevention of interference between several neighboring stations.

2. To increase the distance of communication.

3. To increase the efficiency of the apparatus, its accuracy, and working speed.

One of the chief objections which are raised against wireless telegraphy is that it is possible to work only two or a very limited number of stations in the immediate vicinity of each other without causing mutual interference or producing a jumble by the confusion of the different messages. This objection appears to be much more serious to that section of the public which knows little or nothing of telegraphy in general than to telegraph engineers, who know that without organization and discipline the same interference would occur in the great majority of ordinary land telegrams. For example, there is an "omnibus" line between Cork and Crookhaven. On this line there are a dozen or more telegraph offices, all with their instruments joined up to the same wire running from the terminal stations. Now, if any of these offices should proceed to send a message, say to Cork, while this office is receiving another message from Crookhaven, it would cause an interference which would result in the confusion of the two messages, thus rendering them unintelligible. Any message sent on the line will affect all the instruments and can be read by all the other telegraph offices on the line; but certain rules and regulations are laid down and adhered to by the operators in the employ of the General Post Office which make it impossible for one station to interfere with the rest. It is obvious that these same rules are applicable to every case in which a group of equally tuned wireless telegraph stations happen to be in proximity to each other.

Although in many instances untuned wireless telegraphy may prove of great utility, it is, however, clear that so long as some method of rendering stations completely independent of one another was not devised, a very important and effectual limit to the practical utilization of wireless telegraphy would be imposed. The new method adopted by the author in 1898 was a step in the right direction. This improvement was described by the author in a discourse which he had the honor to deliver in the Royal Institution in February, 1900.

Up to the commencement of 1902 the only receivers that could be practically employed for the purpose of wireless telegraphy were based on what may be called the coherer principle—that is, the detector, the principle of which is based on the discoveries and observations made by S. A. Varley, Professor Hughes, Calsecchi Onesti, and Professor Branly.

Early in that year the author was fortunate enough to succeed in constructing a practical receiver of electric waves, based on a principle different from that of the coherer. Speaking from the experience of its application for over two years to commercial purposes, the author is able to say that, in so far as concerns speed of working, facility of adjustment, reliability, and efficiency when used on tuned circuits, this receiver has left all coherers or anticoherers far behind.

This detector is and has been successfully employed for both long and short distance work. It is used on the ships of the Royal Navy and on all transatlantic liners which are carrying on a long distance news service. It has also been used to a large extent in the tests across the Atlantic Ocean.

As already stated, the adoption of this magnetic receiver was the means of bringing about a great improvement in the practical working conditions of wireless telegraphy by making it possible to do away with the troublesome adjustments necessary when using coherers, and also by considerably increasing the speed at which it is possible to receive, the speed depending solely on the ability of the individual operators.

A very considerable amount of public interest has been centered during the last few years on the tests and experiments in which the author has been engaged in investigating the possibilities of wireless telegraphy over very great distances,

and especially on the tests which are being carried out across the Atlantic Ocean.

The facility with which distances of over 200 miles could be covered with the author's apparatus as long ago as 1900, and the knowledge that by means of syntonic devices mutual interferences could be prevented, led the author to advise the construction of two large power stations, one in Cornwall and the other in North America, in order to test whether, by the employment of much greater power, it might not be possible to transmit messages across the Atlantic Ocean.

On the erection of these stations very extensive tests and experiments were carried out during the latter part of 1902. These tests were greatly facilitated by the courtesy of the Italian Government, which placed a 7,000-ton cruiser, the *Carlo Alberto*, at the author's disposal. During these trials the interesting fact was observed that, unlike what occurs with moderate power-transmitting stations, the effect of intervening land or mountains between the sending and receiving apparatus does not bring about any considerable reduction in the distances over which it is possible to communicate; this result being due, no doubt, to the much greater length of wave radiated by the big elevated conductor of the long-distance stations, compared with the shorter wavelength radiated by the smaller and less powerful installations.

After these experiments the *Carlo Alberto* was sent back from the Mediterranean to Plymouth, and thence conveyed the author to Canada; and in October, 1902, signals from Poldhu were received on board ship throughout the voyage up to a distance of 2,360 miles.

In December, 1902, messages were exchanged between the stations at Poldhu in England and Cape Breton in Canada, but it was found that communication was better from Canada to England than in the opposite direction.

The reason for this is to be attributed to the fact that, owing to the support and encouragement of the Canadian Government, the station at Cape Breton had been more efficiently and expensively equipped; while as regards Poldhu, owing to the uncertainty as to what would be the attitude of the British Government at that time toward the working of

the station, the author's company was unwilling to expend large sums of money for the purpose of increasing its range of transmission.

As, however, messages were sent with ease and accuracy from Canada to England, the author considered it his duty to send the first messages to their Majesties the Kings of England and Italy, both of whom had previously given him much encouragement and assistance in his work. The author was thus enabled to announce that the transmission of telegraphic messages across the Atlantic Ocean without the use of cable or wire was an accomplished fact. Messages were also sent to his Majesty from Lord Minto, the Governor-General of Canada, who had taken a considerable interest in the author's early experiments in Canada. Officers delegated by the Italian Government and a representative of the London *Times* were present at the transmission of the messages, and over 2,000 words were sent and correctly received in the presence of these Government delegates.

Further tests were then carried out at the long-distance station erected at Cape Cod, in the United States of America, and a message from President Roosevelt was successfully transmitted from this station to his Majesty the King.

In the spring of 1903 the transmission of news messages from America to the London *Times* was attempted, and the first messages were correctly received and published in that newspaper. A breakdown in the insulation of the apparatus at Cape Breton made it necessary, however, to suspend the service, and, unfortunately, further accidents made the transmission of messages unreliable, especially during the spring and summer. In consequence of this, the author's company decided not to attempt the transmission of any more public messages until such time as a reliable and continuous service could be maintained and guaranteed under all ordinary conditions.

It is curious to note that the transmission of messages across the Atlantic appeared to be much easier during the winter months of December, January, and February than during the spring and summer, but no serious difficulties were encountered before April. These were partly caused by the

insulation of the aerial not being so good during the damp spring weather, when the snow and ice are melting and thawing, as at this period the insulation is much more difficult to maintain in an efficient condition than during the dry and crisp Canadian winter.

In October, 1903, it was found possible to supply the Cunard steamship *Lucania* during her entire crossing from New York to Liverpool with news transmitted direct to that ship from Poldhu and Cape Breton. Since June, 1904, a regular long-distance commercial service has been in operation on certain ships of the Cunard Steamship Company, which ships, throughout their voyage across the Atlantic, receive daily news messages collected for transmission by Messrs. Reuter in England and by the Associated Press in America.

As to the future of wireless telegraphy, the author expresses his confidence in its ability to furnish a more economical means for the transmission of telegrams from England to America and from England to the colonies than the present service carried on by the cables.

It is true that many scientific men are dubious of the practicability of sending electric waves to great distances. Others are not. On a recent memorable occasion at Glasgow University, Lord Kelvin publicly stated that he not merely believed that messages could be transmitted across the Atlantic, but that some day it would be possible to send messages to the other side of the globe. Apart from the practical and economical possibilities of this step, when realized, the transmission of messages to the antipodes would open up the possibility of carrying out tests of very great scientific interest. For example, if transmission to the antipodes were possible, the energy ought to go over or travel round all parts of the globe from one station to the other, and perhaps concentrate at the antipodes, and in this way it might perhaps be possible for messages to be sent to such distant lands by means of a very small amount of electrical energy, and, therefore, at a correspondingly small expense.

ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH [1]

Within two hours of the moment when the wireless operator at Siasconset was startled by the ill-fated *Republic's* C Q D call, last January, the public was beginning to get the news. The White Star liner, Mediterranean-bound, had been rammed by an unknown vessel, and was sinking, though her passengers were safe. Crowds gathered in the streets of New York, whence she had proudly sailed the day before. They besieged the steamship offices and the offices of the Marconi Company. It took little imagination to realize that a drama of surpassing interest was being played behind the curtain of fog that enshrouded the sea south of Nantucket Island.

In this state of public suspense, wireless telegraphy bridged the billowing waves, telling in quick, throbbing beats the story of the accident. Wireless stations on shore caught the brief bulletins from the rescuing liners that were feeling their way toward the *Republic;* and these were served up to the waiting multitudes on shore as fast as newspaper presses could throw off the printed sheets. Now and then, a faint buzzing in a receiver indicated a message from the *Republic* herself, where "Jack" Binns—the youngster of twenty-six who became famous in a day—was sitting at the key in his shattered cabin, nursing the power in his depleted accumulators, so that he might keep in touch with the outside world.

It was to the wireless that the passengers on the *Republic* owed their salvation. The collision water-proof bulkheads and the iron discipline of the liner's crew must receive their due meed of praise. Yet, had it not been for the wireless instrument that Binns contrived to run on his accumulators, after the incoming water had flooded the engine-room dynamos, it is quite conceivable that the *Republic's* danger might have been unknown for hours—perhaps for the two days that, as it was, sufficed to bring her passengers back to New York. To be sure, the transfer to the *Florida* was made within that time; but the *Florida* was badly damaged herself, and an attempt to reach port with such an added load might

[1] Reprinted from *Putnam's Magazine*, by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York and London.

have resulted disastrously. At any rate, it is the wireless that the *Republic's* passengers must thank for saving them much discomfort and a certain amount of physical harm.

The world learned a thing or two about the wireless service and the brotherhood of operators in the two days that followed the ramming of the *Republic*. Previously it had only conceived of the service as nests of wires strung on tall poles. Messages were sent from these, but how or why was beyond the comprehension of all except the scientifically instructed. Of the operators, as well, the world only knew, in a vague general sort of way, that they were men who sat in the little cabins on the hurricane-decks of ocean liners, living amid a constant crackle of blue sparks.

Now, it realizes that a new gild of men who live face to face with danger has been established. For the code of the wireless operator is the code of the locomotive engineer, of the shipmaster, the fireman, the soldier. He sticks to his post to the last. His is the same spirit that animated Captain Sealby, of the *Republic*, who almost insisted on going down with his ship; for so long as there is a spark to be got from the batteries the wireless operator stays by his key.

It will be many a long day before men of the sea forget the names of "Jack" Binns and H. G. Tattersall, the operator on the *Baltic*, who sat at his key for fifty-two hours while the work of rescuing the passengers of the *Republic* and *Florida* was in progress. With the wall of his metal cabin splintered and shattered by the knife-bow of the Italian liner, Binns stuck to his instrument all through the dreary day, sending, sending, sending the hurry call of the sea—C Q D! C Q D!

The fog clung round them like a clammy veil; strange noises and mutterings sounded, dimly; the submarine bell signal tinkled an ominous warning that was too late. But Binns stuck to his key and tapped out the cry of the stricken in streaks of electricity that pierced through fog and ether to where the sandspit of Siasconset stretched into the Atlantic.

Of Tattersall it was only known, until he reached New York, that he was the man who, two nights after the accident, ended a message with the pathetic paragraph: "I can send no more. I have been constantly at the key without sleep for

fifty-two hours." Afterward, striding up and down the pier with the nervousness of the man who has lacked sleep so long that it is no longer necessary to him, he told his story of the rescue.

"Excited?" he repeated. "No—that is, I was, once, when I got the first message from the *Republic*, via Siasconset. After that, I don't remember anything coherently. Things just happened, one after another. I don't even remember the order in which they took place. The most trying part of it was having to send and receive those *Republic* messages, matters of life and death, while all the time the powerful batteries of the shore stations were calling me. It was a terrible strain on the nerves.

"Five minutes after the *Republic* was struck her lights went out, and the dynamos were put out of business. After that, Binns, her operator, had to rely on his accumulators. You can't get a great deal of power out of your accumulators. They won't send a spark much more than sixty miles—not more than eighty, at a maximum. And even at sixty miles they are very faint.

"With the shore stations jerking out flashes of desperate power, it was all I could do to decipher the feeble signals from the *Republic*. They were mere buzzes in my receiver, for the first few hours. They were jammed out, as we say, by the powerful messages from the shore stations, dinning and crackling into my ears. But all the time I kept calling '*Republic! Republic!*' and telling them that we were coming to their aid.

"At last, when we were within forty miles of their position, I began to be able to make out words from the buzzes in the receiver—scattered, senseless syllables to begin with, and then whole phrases and sentences. They gave me their position, and I answered that we were coming as fast as we could steam through the fog.

"Was I excited? No; it's the awful nervous strain of striving, always striving, to get the messages right, when half a dozen gigantic batteries are jerking flashes to you at the same time, drowning each other out, pounding in your ears, making the night seem to swarm with sparks before your eyes. That's

what gets on a man's nerves; that's what makes you next to insane. I hardly knew what to do, with the *Republic* calling me faintly, so faintly that I could not make out whether they were saying: 'We are sinking!' or 'All safe!'

"Sometimes, I wanted to swear at Siasconset or Woods Hole. It made me angry that they couldn't realize they were spoiling my receiving. How could I take those flutters from the *Republic's* wires, when they were crashing out their sparks powerful enough to travel two hundred miles?"

There is nothing at all romantic-looking about Tattersall. He is a little, slim, red-whiskered Londoner, as quick and limber as a cat. And, strange to say, he is bashful about what he has done. It is not easy to make him talk about himself, and when he realizes that he has been led into such a digression, he blushes and stammers like a schoolgirl. "Jack" Binns is the same sort of man—young, boyish, quite immature in appearance, but possessed of the identical iron nerve and dauntless resolution that kept Tattersall at his post for more than two days.

He took it as a matter of course that he should be the last man to leave the sinking *Republic*, except her captain, and the second officer, who insisted on remaining with his chief. It was Binns, too, who held his broken instrument together with one hand, while with the other he rapped the cry for help. Of this, he made light, afterward. It was nothing, he insisted, with a cheery grin. "Any fellow could do that much," he declared.

Binns and Tattersall are like most of the other operators on the transatlantic liners, in that they are young. Somehow or other, the wireless trade seems to be attractive to youth. It is not because men do not last long at it. It is a hearty and healthy, though strenuous, occupation, and gives a man bracing air in his off-hours. Yet the constant change and excitement incidental to it are factors that appeal to youth. That is the reason most of the men in the trim blue uniforms who have charge of the network of wires that criss-cross between the masts are under thirty.

On all big steamships, like the *Republic* and the *Baltic*, there are two, if not three, operators. The rules say nothing

explicit about what a head operator shall do in time of stress and danger. Yet the words of Tattersall, shot through the murk that shrouded the sea, were pregnant with the spirit of the wireless operator.

He had a mate at hand who could have relieved him of his task, a task from which he never swerved, save to gulp a cup of coffee or eat a roll, while he chewed on a black cigar and tapped away all through the weary hours. But it was not in accordance with his idea of the duty of a chief operator to leave to a subordinate the responsibility that devolved upon the wireless in that time of suspense.

In the years that have passed since wireless apparatus became a recognized part of a sea-going vessel's equipment, much improvement has taken place in the methods of sending and receiving. The open-mouthed wonder of the men who stood at Marconi's side at Glace Bay, four years ago, and heard him taking down a message from the storm-beaten *Umbria*, hundreds of miles away, would now be regarded as a thing to laugh at. We are used to such trivial marvels. The Federal Government is advertising for bids for the construction of a station at Washington capable of maintaining communication within a radius of 1,000 miles. The Eiffel Tower station in Paris already receives messages from the same distance; and communication between the coasts of Newfoundland and Ireland is an established fact.

One can hardly overemphasize the development of the science. It was so recently as 1895 that Marconi sent his first message two miles. Regarded seven years ago in the light of a toy—as a questionable practical adjunct to man's power—it has since leaped into position as one of the most useful inventions vouchsafed by modern science. Probably Marconi himself was pleasurably surprised when he first sent a message fifty miles. It was but the other day that the station on Russian Hill, San Francisco, established communication with the Kuhuhu station on the island of Oahu, 2,100 nautical miles distant. And this year the Navy expects to transmit messages 3,000 miles!

A German wireless company claims to have sent messages 2,290 miles, and it is a common thing for the Marconi operators

to flash dispatches across the Atlantic—so common that some of the newspapers now publish a special page of wireless news in their Sunday edition. While the battleship fleet was in the Pacific, certain messages flashed from the men-o'-war to the California land-stations were received by the operator at the Pensacola Navy Yard. Think of that! Those communications had passed through the ether, over many miles of tumbling blue water, across the Sierra Nevada, the hot sand-wastes of the southwest, the broad Texas prairies and the Gulf of Mexico, to the station on the Florida shore.

In the American Navy, use of the wireless plays an important part in all battle maneuvers, and experiments are being conducted by the Army Signal Corps with a view to employing it as an adjunct to the field telegraph and telephone, as well as providing a means of communication between war-balloons and air-ships and the earth. In future campaigns on land or sea, it is destined to play as prominent a rôle as any of the engines of destruction.

And with the time not far distant, according to many engineers, when Bellini and Tosi will perfect their device for independent communication—too complicatedly simple for the layman to understand—and when Hans Knudsen will succeed in working linotype machines by wireless waves, not to speak of flashing perfect photographs through the infinite ether, what seems the fairy tale of to-day will be the familiar proceeding of to-morrow.

CLASH OF ANARCHY AND CLERICALISM IN SPAIN[1]

THE BARCELONA OUTBREAK AND THE EXECUTION OF FRANCISCO FERRER

A.D. 1909

WILLIAM ARCHER PERCEVAL GIBBON

Seldom has the trial and execution of any individual roused such universal interest as did that of Francisco Ferrer. All Europe and even far-off America raised its voice in protest against the farcical trial, and in horror at the execution. This interest was not aroused by Ferrer's personality, but by the far greater forces behind him, of which he was but the chance ebullition. Ferrer was a Spanish anarchist, and we have few of us much sympathy with anarchs. But in Spain anarchy is merely one form among many of the almost universal protest of the poorer classes against the tyranny of a narrow aristocratic monarchy. "Clericalism," the power of the Catholic Church, is very strong in Spain, and is closely allied with the Government. Thus the anarchs feel that in attacking the Church they attack the Government.

Ferrer was the one wealthy anarchist in Spain. An aged woman had left him her fortune to be expended on "the cause." Except for this he might have lived and died unnoted; but his wealth dragged him into prominence. Not many anarchists are rich; and Ferrer used his wealth to found schools wherein anarchy was taught. Probably in no country but Spain would such public teaching have been allowed. But the Spanish Government seems to let everything drift until there is an actual outbreak. Then it strikes as blindly and recklessly as before it had endured.

Thus it struck at Ferrer, when it felt that the Barcelona outbreak demanded that an example should be made. The following accounts of the outbreak by William Archer, and of Ferrer's trial by Perceval Gibbon, caused wide comment when they first appeared, because of their clearness and their fairness. The Catholic Church objected to some of their comments, and these have therefore been omitted from the present articles, which would probably be accepted almost everywhere as just.

When Ferrer fell, his friend and admirer, Alfred Naquet, a Senator of France, wrote of him: "To die like Ferrer, sacrificed for the most exalted

[1] Reproduced by permission and in condensed form from the original articles in *McClure's Magazine.*

sentiments of humanity, is to escape death in order to enter immortality. Ferrer will live forever enshrined in history like all those who have fallen for the enfranchisement of human thought."

WILLIAM ARCHER

ON October 9, 1909, Francisco Ferrer was sentenced to death on the charge of being the "author and chief" of what is known as the "Revolution of July" in Barcelona. On October 13th the sentence was executed in the trenches of the fortress of Montjuich. Instantly there arose in almost all the principal cities of Europe a storm of protest. In Paris there was fighting in the streets, resulting in one death and many injuries. In London a demonstration took place in Trafalgar Square, and the police had some difficulty in protecting the Spanish Embassy from attack. Great meetings of protest were held in Rome, Lisbon, Berlin, Brussels, Zurich, and many other places. Demonstrations took place in front of the Spanish Consulate in almost every seaport of France and Italy. The execution was denounced as a judicial crime of the blackest type, and Ferrer was glorified as a martyr of free thought, done to death by a sinister and vindictive clericalism. Nine days later the Maura Cabinet resigned, its fall being due in great measure to the evil repute it had brought upon itself and upon Spain by hurrying Ferrer to his death. But, when the tempest of popular fury had subsided, the Roman Catholics of all countries came forward to the rescue and vindication of their Spanish brethren. They said (quite truly) that not one in twenty of the people who shouted themselves hoarse in honor of the atheist martyr knew anything of the facts of his case. They said that he had certainly been concerned in Morral's attempt upon the King and Queen of Spain, though he had so skilfully covered his tracks that the crime could not be brought home to him. They said that he had engineered the Barcelona revolt in order to make money by a stock-exchange gamble. And, finally, they said that, after a trial conducted in strict accordance with the law of the land, he had been proved beyond a doubt to have acted as organizer and director of an insurrection which had been accompanied by murder, sacrilege, and unprecedented scenes

of rapine and havoc. "Did any one ever deserve death," they asked, "if this man did not?"

Assuredly he deserved death, by the laws of all nations, if he was the instigator and director of the rising. But was he? That is the point which we have to investigate.

It was in this character, and in no other, that he was condemned. The prosecution formally renounced at the outset all attempt to bring home to him any individual act of violence. It was as "author and chief of the rebellion"—"*autor y jefe de la rebelión*"—that he was found guilty and shot. The phrase occurs not only in the actual sentence of death, but nearly twenty times in the three speeches for the prosecution, published with the sanction of the Spanish Government.

It is unfortunate that the word "anarchism" is so closely associated in the popular mind with the throwing of bombs. In Spain, where a great majority of the working class are Anarchists, in the sense of being opposed to a centralized state, people have tried to escape from the ambiguity by employing another word, *acratism*, which may be interpreted "opposition to power." An acratist Ferrer certainly was, and his whole teaching was directed toward the inculcation of dogmatic acratism. It was antireligious, antimonarchical, antipatriotic, antimilitarist, anticapitalist. Though opposed on principle to rewards no less than to punishments, he broke through his principle and offered a reward for an inscription, to be placarded in his school-rooms, showing the absurdity of doing homage to the national flag. Such observances were "atavisms" (a favorite word of his) which he detested.

Public order was disturbed on May 31, 1906, by the throwing of a bomb at the wedding procession of the King and Queen of Spain. They escaped uninjured, but fifteen people were killed and many wounded. The perpetrator of the crime, Mateo Morral, had for some time been librarian in the Escuela Moderna. Ferrer was arrested and the school was closed. Every effort was made to have him tried by a military tribunal, but the efforts failed. After spending a year in prison, he was acquitted by a civil tribunal, which held that the prosecution had "failed to establish any link between

the presumption engendered by the opinions of the accused and the actual misdeed committed."

Prohibited from reopening his school, Ferrer devoted himself to the publishing business, which he called the *Libreria de la Escuela Moderna*, and to the work of educational propaganda already referred to. Thus he passed two years tranquilly enough; until, on July 9, 1909, "a scrimmage at a border station" in Morocco started the train of events which was destined to lead to his destruction.

As the tragedy approaches it is time to set the scene.

In the city of Barcelona between the mountains and the sea, there are more than half a million industrious but excitable and turbulent people. There is great wealth. On the Paseo de Gracia and other magnificent avenues the rich merchants and manufacturers have built themselves houses that in point of expensiveness would do credit to Fifth Avenue, though the Neo-Catalan architecture is too often hideous in its eccentricity. In the lower quarters of the town, on the other hand, one gathers—what I believe to be the fact—that there is little or no very dire poverty. The Catalonian workman is exceptionally well off. The climate of Barcelona is almost perfect; unemployment is rare; food is cheap, lodging not extravagantly dear. The so-called Paralelo, a noble boulevard largely given up to workmen's cafés, theaters, and variety shows, affords at night the most brilliant and animated spectacle of its kind I ever saw. For a few cents the workman can spend his evenings in a really palatial café, debating, playing games, and imbibing highly colored but not too poisonous refreshments. Drunkenness is very rare; so are "crimes of passion." But beneath this smiling and prosperous surface there lurks every form of faction and discontent.

And dotted everywhere—facing us at every turn—throughout this city of modern industrialism are monasteries, convents, religious houses of one sort or another, some humble and unpretending enough, but many of them vast and splendid. Some are devoted to education, others to works of charity; but none, it would seem, has succeeded in earning the respect, much less the love, of the working classes, who accuse the *frailes* of humiliating and exploiting the children they profess to teach

and train. Exempt from taxation, some of the religious houses compete in the production of certain commodities; and this unfair competition is keenly resented by the people.

In July of 1909 all Spain was thrown into tumult by the sudden outbreak of an unexpected war with the Arabs of Morocco, in the region of Melilla. The war was bitterly unpopular among the common people of Spain. Yet large numbers of troops were hurried to Melilla, and by way of Barcelona. From the 14th onward, transports left the harbor every day; and on Sunday, the 18th, the departure of a local battalion was accompanied by scenes of wild lamentations and protest. Similar outbreaks occurred at many other points throughout Spain. On the 20th the populace of Madrid attempted to prevent the entrainment of a regiment, and the Southern Station was the scene of a serious riot. Meanwhile Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, and workmen's organizations of all sorts were everywhere trying to hold meetings of protest against the war, and the authorities were everywhere sitting on this safety-valve. The news from Melilla, as it filtered through the censorship, grew every day more ominous. Since it was evident that the truth was not being told, rumor set to work to correct official reticence with its usual fertility of lurid invention. The fact that the Cortes were not sitting left the Maura Cabinet the unchecked despots of Spain; and the fact that Señor Maura declined to summon the Cortes showed that this despotism was essential to the carrying through of his policy.

In most countries the working classes, on the outbreak of a war, are apt, for a time at least, to yield to the contagion of patriotic fervor, and shout themselves hoarse with war-cries and war-songs. Why was the sentiment of the Spanish working class so utterly different? The reasons are clear, and may be grouped under three heads. In the first place, the Anarchism which is dominant among the Spanish operatives is essentially an internationalist and pacificist doctrine. Its very name declares it antipatriotic. It regards the flag without emotion, and considers the "national honor" a myth invented by the soldiers and priests who conspire with the capitalists in that process of exploitation which they call govern-

ment. In this respect, too, the views of the Socialists are practically identical with those of the Anarchists. Both parties accept the principle laid down at the Congress of Stuttgart: "Better insurrection than war." In the second place, this particular campaign had all the appearance of a war of sheer aggression undertaken at the dictation of a group of millionaires, closely allied with the Government, whose interests were inexpressibly indifferent to the Spanish workman. It was believed, too, rightly or wrongly, that many of the mining shares were held by, or for, the Jesuits. In the third place,—and it was this that brought the women in their thousands into the ranks of the protesters,—the incidence of military service was exasperatingly unjust. On the one hand, the son of the bourgeois who could afford to pay three hundred dollars for exemption need not join the army at all; on the other hand, most of the reservists now being called out were men who, after two years with the colors, had been permitted to return to civil life and to marry. They were now torn from their wives and families, to throw away their lives—as seemed only too probable—in an ill-omened war, undertaken for the enrichment of a few financiers. That was how the campaign represented itself to the popular mind, especially in Catalonia. What wonder if the women who crowded the wharves of Barcelona on Sunday, the 18th, cried to their sweethearts and husbands as they marched through the throng: "Throw away your rifles! Don't embark! Let the rich men go! All or nobody!" Some kind Catholic ladies who boarded the transports, dressed in their Sunday finery, to distribute scapularies and other appropriate trifles to the soldiers, were shocked to see their benefactions thrown into the sea.

On Friday, the 23d, there was to have been a general assembly of delegates of the Solidaridad Obrera, a federation of working men's societies of all shades of opinion, the Catalan counterpart of the French Confédération Générale du Travail. The Civil Governor, Don Angel Ossorio, decided to prohibit the meeting; and it was probably this prohibition which determined the outbreak. A Strike Committee of three was instantly formed, representing Socialists, Syndicalists (trades-unionists), and Anarchists; but the Solidaridad Obrera, as

such, was not represented. Who these three men were is perfectly well known. I have had long talks with one of them. They scout the idea that it would ever have occurred to them to take Ferrer into their confidence. Each of the three had a lieutenant; each lieutenant was to communicate with four delegates; each delegate with four others, and so on. By this simple but effective means the call to a general strike for Monday, the 26th, spread through the manufacturing towns of Catalonia. It was nominally to be a pacific contest, lasting twenty-four hours only, against the Moroccan adventure. There were doubtless many who hoped and believed that it would not end there; but of actual organization for anything further no one has discovered a trace. "In Barcelona," says Don Angel Ossorio, the Civil Governor before mentioned, "no one *prepares* a revolution, for the simple reason that it is always prepared. . . . Of conspiracy, of plan, of concerted action, of casting of parts, of recruitment, of payment, of distribution of arms, of issuing of orders, in preparation for the events of the 26th, I have not heard a single word."

I shall now give a rapid sketch of the course of events, leaving Ferrer, for the moment, entirely out of it.

In the early hours of Monday, the 26th, some workshops and factories resumed work as usual; but as soon as the news spread that the strike was actually taking effect, work was everywhere abandoned. In some cases the employers themselves ordered their workmen out, fearing to have their windows broken. Bands of women went from shop to shop and from office to office, demanding that they should close; and they seem to have met with no refusals. But—unfortunately, as it proved—there was one large body of workers which refused to stand in with the rest. Throughout the morning the electric cars ran as usual, and the servants of the company declined to quit their posts. Had they done so quietly, the day might have passed in peace, and work might have been resumed on the morrow. It was in stopping the tramway service that the first acts of violence took place. Cars were overturned and burned; rails were torn up; and the police and gendarmes, in trying to protect the car service, came into frequent conflict with the crowd. There was a good deal of

shooting on both sides, and blood began to flow in several parts of the city. By three in the afternoon the street-car service had entirely ceased. Cabs, too, had been driven from the streets, and two at least of the railways connecting Barcelona with the outside world were put out of action. It was not till next day that the isolation of the city, whether by rail or wire, was rendered practically complete.

How, in the mean time, were the authorities employing themselves? They were undoubtedly in rather a tight place. The military garrison had been depleted by the war, but there remained eight hundred regular troops in Barcelona. Of policemen there were eight or nine hundred and of gendarmes (*Guardias Civiles*, a fine body of men) about one thousand. These forces were certainly none too many to hold in check a rebellious populace of half a million, in a city covering some forty square miles of ground. A considerable number had to be immobilized for the protection of arsenals, military stores, etc.; and the soldiers, as a whole, were not greatly to be relied upon, as the people insisted on cheering them wherever they appeared, and treating them as the victims of governmental oppression. Under the circumstances, the best policy would probably have been one of conciliation. The disturbance might have been treated as a more or less legitimate movement of protest, all measures being directed toward securing the peaceful resumption of work next morning. If this policy ever occurred to any one, it was negatived by a telegram from the Minister of the Interior, Señor La Cierva, urging that the strike must not be treated like an ordinary economic manifestation, but repressed with vigor, as a rebellion.

Between one and three on Tuesday afternoon barricades sprang up in many streets and active fighting began on a quite different scale from that of the previous day—arms having been obtained by the looting of gun-stores, pawnshops, and at least one armory. Almost at the same time, first one great column of smoke, and then another, went up into the blue air. It was the splendid building of the Padres Esculapios, and the convent and church of the Jeronimas, that were burning. From that time onward, for about sixty hours, anarchy reigned in Barcelona. The street-fighting was incessant, save

for a sort of truce in the early mornings; and almost every hour saw a fresh ecclesiastical building of one sort or another given to the flames. On the night of the 27th, from the surrounding hills, the spectacle of Barcelona dotted all over with conflagrations must have been at once superb and terrible. But there was no strategy in the fighting, no method in the convent-burning. It was all desultory, planless, purposeless; an uncontrollable ebullition of rage and mischief. The authorities were still in telegraphic communication with Madrid by way of the Balearic Islands; and one line of railway had either not been cut or had been restored. Troops reached the city from distant parts of Spain, who were more to be trusted than the local levies. Artillery was brought into play against the barricades. By Thursday evening the revolt had pretty well exhausted itself. Business began to be resumed on Friday, though conflicts still occurred in the streets in certain quarters. By Monday the city had resumed its normal aspect, and the "tragic week" was over. More than fifty ecclesiastical buildings—churches, convents, colleges, etc.,—lay in ruins. The total death-roll, however, was comparatively small. It is generally placed between sixty and seventy; but the Minister of the Interior, in the Cortes, stated it at one hundred and four. Apparently marksmanship was not the strong point of the combatants on either side; and the rioters were very scantily armed. The losses among the soldiers and police seem to have been absolutely insignificant—not more than four or five all told. The wounded on both sides were, of course, very much more numerous.

Many people have written and spoken as though some sinister mystery underlay the fact that the protest against the Melilla adventure took such a violently anticlerical turn. There is really no mystery in the matter. For reasons above indicated, the religious houses were chronically and intensely unpopular. The clergy were supposed (and rightly) to be hand in glove with the militarists. A most unwise attempt had also been made in some quarters to represent the war in the light of a crusade of the Christian against the infidel—a piece of hypocrisy that deceived no one and irritated many. At a meeting of four thousand workmen held at Tarrasa, a manu-

facturing town in the immediate neighborhood of Barcelona, a few days before the outbreak, a resolution was passed protesting against "the sending to war of citizens productively employed and, as a rule, indifferent to the triumph of 'the Cross' over 'the Crescent,' when it would be easy to form regiments of priests and monks who, besides being directly interested in the success of the Catholic religion, have no family or home, and are of no utility to the country."

In view of such a resolution as this, we need scarcely look much further for the connecting link between antimilitarist and anticlerical manifestations. But it happens that we know precisely whence the immediate suggestion of incendiarism proceeded. On Sunday, the 25th, the day before the strike and two days before the revolt, Señor Lerroux's newspaper, *El Progreso*, the most influential in Barcelona, contained an article, headed with the English word

REMEMBER!

recalling the fact that that day was the anniversary of a great outburst of convent-burning in 1835, and deploring that, in these degenerate times, there was no likelihood of its repetition! No one who has read this article can have the smallest doubt as to who lit the first torch. Ferrer, I may remark, was at this time on bad terms with the Republicans and their organ, *El Progreso*. Not the slightest attempt has been made to connect him with the (literally) incendiary article. Yet he is in his grave, while the responsible editor of *El Progreso*, Don Emiliano Iglesias, is in the Cortes.

As to the constitution and behavior of the convent-burning mobs, there is an almost ludicrous conflict of evidence, or rather of assertion. The clericals try to make them out worse than fiends, the anticlericals depict them as almost angelic in their chivalry and humanity. On August 4th the *Correspondencia* of Madrid published a communication from its Barcelona correspondent in which he declared that, on the night of July 27th, "mad drunk with blood, wine, lust, dynamite, and petroleum, with no other desire than to kill for killing's sake," the rebels destroyed the convents and massacred their inmates.

"Who can tell the number of dead, wounded, and burned who are buried beneath the ruins? . . . Spare me the recital of the details of the martyrdom of the monks, of the ill treatment of the nuns, of the brutal way in which they were sacrificed. . . . I can only say that many died at the foot of the altar, stabbed by a thousand women; that others were torn to pieces, their limbs being carried about on poles; that not a few were tortured to death; and that all passed to another life with the crown of martyrdom."

This is a fair specimen of history as it was written on the days immediately succeeding the outbreak; and, though every one now admits that it is delirious nonsense, the clerical party, while abandoning the details, still writes as though the general picture were a true one. As a matter of fact, the hecatomb of martyrs reduces itself, even by Catholic computation, to four: two priests shot, one suffocated in the cellar of his burning church, and one nun brutally killed. For the last outrage the evidence seems to be very insufficient; for the death of the three priests, and the mutilation of the body of one of them, the evidence is pretty strong. It is absurd, then, to pretend, as some people do, that the mob was absolutely seraphic in its ardor; but it is certainly very remarkable that, in such a wild outbreak, murder, and even fatal accident, should have been so infrequent. There is abundance of evidence, from the mouths of priests and nuns themselves, that the general temper of the mob was not in the least homicidal, and that they took pains to have the buildings cleared of their inmates before setting fire to them. Even so, no doubt it was sufficiently alarming and distressing for hundreds of religious ladies to be forced to quit their sanctuaries at a moment's notice, and see them delivered to the flames. It is with no view of defending the conduct of the rabble that I insist upon the essential difference between burning an empty convent and burning it over the heads of its inmates.

But, if the revolt was far from being a massacre, at least, say some, it was a scene of unbridled rapine. On this point, too, the opposing parties take up violently contradictory positions. It would be ridiculous to suppose that in a great city like Barcelona, not noted at any time as a home of all the

virtues, the destruction of half a hundred rich ecclesiastical buildings should be wholly unaccompanied by robbery. There is no reason to doubt that the dregs of the populace, the camp-followers of the revolt, committed many depredations. But there is clear evidence that robbery was not the motive of the main body of the incendiaries. They were bent on destruction, not on theft. They made bonfires, not only of objects of sanctity, but of objects of value. No bank was attacked; no store, other than gun-stores; not one of the many splendid houses of the commercial magnates of Barcelona. The word "sack" is no more justly applicable to the events than the word "massacre."

But while the mob, as a whole, was neither murderous nor rapacious, it was blind and superstitious in its rage against all things associated with religion. Its deeds show no trace of any rational leadership. It did not, for instance, single out for destruction those institutions which competed unfairly in confectionery, laundry work, or other industries. The great majority of the buildings destroyed lay under no such suspicion. Some were inoffensive houses of retreat; not a few were charitable institutions for the benefit of the working classes themselves. One (I am credibly assured) was a crèche or day-nursery for infants, which is now sadly missed. But while this proves the lack of reason in the crowd, it also proves the failure of these charitable institutions to establish themselves in popular esteem. Priests and nuns engaged in education complain bitterly that the parents of some of their pupils, and even the pupils themselves, were prominent among the rioters—a fact that may clearly be interpreted in more ways than one. But the main allegation against the mob—now that the charge of massacre proves to be unfounded—is that they desecrated tombs and paraded the streets with the embalmed bodies of religious ladies. The fact is undoubted. In more than one convent the niches of the crypts were broken open and bodies dragged to light, to the total number, it is said, of about thirty-five. But it is no less certain that the motive of this profanation was a desire to ascertain whether there were any sign of the nuns having been tortured, or even buried alive. It was found, as a matter of fact, that many of the bodies had

their hands and feet bound together; and, though this is susceptible of a quite innocent explanation, it was not unnaturally taken at first as confirming the most sinister rumors.

It is now time to return to Ferrer. On July 22d—just four days after the Sunday that witnessed the first scene of protest against the war and four days before the Monday of the general strike—he wrote a letter to Miguel Moreno, formerly a teacher in the Escuela Moderna, who desired to discuss with him the possible foundation of a farm-school. Here is the letter in full (I have seen the original):

"MONGAT, 22/7, 1909.

"*Friend Moreno:*

"I have so many things to arrange and put in order here at Mongat that I intend to go very little to Barcelona until I have finished.

"In order to see me, the best plan would be for you to come here on some holiday afternoon. But, if that does not suit you, I would come to Barcelona on Sunday morning, by a train that arrives at nine. In that case let me know beforehand and meet me at the station.

"I repeat that I am your affectionate,

"FERRER.

"We have recently lost a niece eight years old, to our no small sorrow, as you may suppose."

Here we find "the author and chief of the rebellion," four days before its outbreak, not even mentioning public affairs, and expressing a wish to avoid coming to Barcelona. Moreno, however, in his reply, suggested a meeting at the station, not for Sunday, but for Monday morning; and to this Ferrer agreed. We may be absolutely sure that he did not visit Barcelona in the interval; for, if he had done so, the police spies would have reported the fact, and the prosecution would not have failed to make much of it. But perhaps he was all the time plotting the revolt by correspondence? No one who has any experience of the Spanish post-office will believe this possible. We must remember, too, that immediately after the "tragic week" the police made hundreds, if

not thousands, of domiciliary visits, without discovering a single letter of Ferrer's inciting to, or in any way bearing upon, the disturbances. The prosecution, in short, though it admitted that Ferrer was under close surveillance, did not even attempt to bring home to him a single act of preparation or organization during the critical days before the outbreak. What would a jury have thought of this omission?

Well, on the morning of the fateful 26th Ferrer betook himself to Barcelona, and Moreno met him, as arranged, at the Estación de Francia. Here it was that the two streams of private and of public events definitely flowed together. Moreno was, in fact, one of those most actively concerned in the organization of the strike. He naturally told Ferrer what was afoot; and he strongly asserts that this was the first Ferrer had heard of it.

"What did he say?" I asked.

"He said," Moreno replied, "that if it was a serious movement that was going to lead to anything, it had all his sympathy; but if it was to be a mere flash in the pan, he regretted it."

On parting from Moreno, Ferrer, according to his own account (confirmed by his employees and by independent witnesses), proceeded to his publishing office in the Calle Cortes. He had not been long there when a band of women appeared, demanding that the office should be closed. He at once agreed, and only a side door was left open. Then he went out to procure samples of paper for his projected edition of Kropotkin's "Great Revolution," after having instructed his secretary, Cristóbal Litrán, to arrange with an engraver to meet him at the office at four in the afternoon, with reference to the illustrations for the same work. He lunched alone at the Maison Dorée, a well-known restaurant in the Plaza de Catuluña. At four he kept the appointment with the engraver at his office, and asked the office messenger, a youth named Meseguer, to carry to the station for him a cardboard box "containing a dress for his wife." This the young man did, preceding Ferrer to the station; but when Ferrer arrived, in time for the six o'clock train, behold! he found a notice stating that the line was cut and no trains running. Mese-

guer, seeing that he was much put about by this, offered to walk to Mongat and tell his family that all was well with him. He at first demurred, saying that it was too far to walk; but the lad insisted, and Ferrer at last accepted his offer. Then he went and dined at the Hotel Internacional on the Ramblas, spent the evening with friends at a café, and at last, soon after midnight, set forth to walk home, arriving at Mas Germinal at about five in the morning.

On August 17th, Commandant Vicente Llivina, charged with the duty of preparing the case against the "instigators, organizers, and directors" of the revolt, issued an advertisement calling upon Ferrer to appear before him; and Ferrer asserted that he thought of obeying the summons, but was persuaded not to do so. On August 29th, however, he read in the papers (according to his own account) that the Fiscal (prosecutor) of the Supreme Court, after a visit to Barcelona to investigate the disturbance, had declared, on his return to Madrid, that he, Ferrer, was "the organizer of the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and in the villages on the coast."

"Then [Ferrer proceeds] I could restrain myself no longer, and in spite of the advice of my friends, I resolved to present myself to the authorities and at last protest against such rumors and such affirmations, from however high a source they might proceed."

He left his hiding-place on the night of August 31st, intending to walk some seven miles in order to take the inland railway line to Barcelona, his reason being that he was unknown on this line, and had therefore a better chance of reaching Barcelona in freedom. His route, however, took him through his native village of Alella; and just outside it he was stopped by the village *somaten* (a sort of local vigilance committee), recognized, and arrested. After many indignities at the hands of his captors, he was taken, not to the examining commandant, as he requested, but to the Civil Governor, and after a brief examination was consigned to the Celular Prison.

PERCEVAL GIBBON

The trial of Francisco Ferrer in the Model Prison at Barcelona was a State function of the highest importance; besides the reporters, only privileged spectators were present to witness an end being made of the Government's enemy. There was a good deal of competition for a place in court; Ferrer was not known by sight to many people in Spain, and there was curiosity as to the personality and appearance of this powerful Revolutionary, the leader of a school of political thought. A colonel and six captains were appointed to try him, and a captain of engineers was deputed to conduct his defense, with a prospect of arrest and imprisonment if he went too far on the prisoner's behalf. The whole thing was stage-managed like a drama, and its end was not less certain and foreseen.

They brought Ferrer in and placed him at the bar of the court, with a sentry beside him; and the spectators rustled and fidgeted to see him close at hand. Under their curious eyes, the doomed man shrank and was uneasy. People saw him with astonishment. He had the manner and all the outward look of an elderly clerk or a country schoolmaster, of anything subordinate and plodding and uninspired. He was middle-aged and of the middle stature, with a round, dull face, and a short, pointed gray beard. There was nothing to distinguish him from thousands of men in Spain to-day, in whom the national character of reserve and incuriousness are exaggerated to a sort of atrophy of the faculties. He showed no trace of that fervency and power that had made him the enemy of the Government, and sustained him through years of war against bureaucracy and clericalism in Catalonia. It was only when, at some turn in the proceedings, he looked up quickly, that people were able to see that the eyes in the patient face were steady and of a peculiar brightness.

A military court does not pronounce sentence at the end of the case, and when Ferrer was taken out from court no word of death had been spoken. But he knew, and the others knew, that he went forth doomed. In London and in Paris it was known. There were attempts to influence the Govern-

ments of Great Britain and France to intervene to save him; and the advocates at the Palace of Justice in Paris signed a protest against the manner in which he had been denied justice and an opportunity to clear himself. In Rome also it was known. The pope addressed an inquiry to the papal Nuncio in Spain as to whether his intervention would be taken well, and the date of Ferrer's execution was actually advanced in order that the young king might not have to refuse a request from the Vatican. Those who advise the pope were not blind to the fact that clericalism in Spain can ill afford to make martyrs; the proof of their wisdom is in the uproar that arose from every capital between St. Petersburg and Montevideo in answer to the volley at Montjuich on October 13th.

There is not lacking a mass of proof that from the moment he was arrested Ferrer was as good as dead. He was charged with inciting and taking part in the recent riots at Barcelona. His guilt or his innocence no longer concerns any one. The time to prove him guilty was in his lifetime, when he could answer for himself.

Six months ago, if one had sought in Spain for an outstanding man, for a leader whose disappearance would change the destinies of the struggle between the forces of liberalism and their opponents, it would have been hard to fix upon one. In Catalonia, Ferrer's native province, as in the rest of Spain, anticlericalism is more an instinct of the people than a matter of politics. A man may be a Republican, a Nationalist, a Separatist, a Lerrouxista, but he is an anticlerical as well. It is not that he is necessarily hostile to religion, or even to the Church; it is simply that the religious orders have become a heavy burden to the community, and their increase in the face of the law restricting them is making life a difficult matter for thousands of people.

Although I was not personally acquainted with Ferrer, I lived for a considerable time at Barcelona while I was studying the growth of the anarchist movement in Spain, and I was able to follow closely the results of his work there. To gain a clue to Ferrer's share in Spanish politics, it is necessary to understand the position of the anticlericals. The diocese of Barcelona, to select one instance, has a total population of

about a million souls. Within this diocese there are not fewer than five hundred religious houses—monasteries and convents—and some six thousand minor institutions, forming centers of clerical propaganda and influence. It is not even known how many monks, nuns, and priests these figures represent; Spanish statistics are incomplete and inaccurate: but they stand, at any rate, for a very large body of people—individually poor but collectively controlling enormous wealth—who have no share in the life of the community and the duties of the citizen.

If this were all, it would yet be a serious burden to Spain's most enterprising and prosperous province; but the matter goes further. The orders engage in business. They have special advantages in the way of securing labor and custom, and they are exempt from all taxes. They manufacture liqueurs, chocolates, candy, and linen; they work farms; they undertake printing and laundry work: and they are able to do all this on terms with which the layman can not compete. And thus it is that in Barcelona all disorders begin with the burning of a convent.

It was to this warfare between the people and the orders that Francisco Ferrer belonged. He was a man of the lower classes, without grace of manner, geniality, or wit, and his appearance almost constituted a claim to be overlooked. But, none the less, this awkward, silent Spaniard had something within him that attracted to him the confidence and devotion of women. The record of his life has several instances of women inspired to be his followers and helpers. While he lay in prison, one, Señora Villafranca, the most faithful of his followers, was exhausting every resource to secure his reprieve in Madrid. In Paris, there had been another, named Mlle. Meunier. Little is known of her, save that she was a very old woman who believed in Ferrer, and when she died she left him half a million dollars with which to forward his cause in Spain. It made him, for Spain, a very rich man; it put into his hands power such as no other leader had commanded. From that time Ferrer began to be recognized as a formidable figure in Spanish affairs.

He opened his campaign by founding in Barcelona his

Escuela Moderna, the only secular school in Spain. Here a child received sound teaching in conventional subjects, and was also trained along the peculiar lines of Ferrer's beliefs. He described the object of the school in these words:

"To make children reflect upon the lies of religion, of government, of patriotism, of justice, of politics, and of militarism; and to prepare their minds for the social revolution."

Apart from this latter purpose, the school served a great national need, and its success was immediate. Branches were established in other parts of Spain, and it has already, in something less than eight years, turned out about four thousand pupils, well equipped to hold their own in illiterate and ignorant Spain. Also, it carried out its founder's intention that it should be a blow at clericalism, and its power was fully recognized by the Government when, in 1906, an opportunity arose to attack Ferrer.

Among the men whom Ferrer had appointed to assist in the conduct of the Escuela Moderna was Mateo Morales, an accomplished linguist, who was given the post of librarian. He, too, was an anarchist, but not of the philosophical and theoretical kind to which Ferrer belonged. He was the man who threw the bomb at King Alfonso and his bride on the day of their wedding.

On June 4, 1906, Ferrer was arrested for complicity in this outrage, apparently for no other reason than that he had known Morales well. Not a shred of evidence could be adduced against him; there was not even enough to bring him to trial. In fact, the case was so utterly feeble that the Judge of First Instance agreed to liberate him on bail, adding that no cause had been shown why Ferrer should be either tried or detained in prison. But Ferrer was not liberated. The Fiscal intervened to prevent it—his authority was higher than that of the Judge.

"You will not be allowed bail," he told Ferrer, "even if the Judge has permitted it, because I will stop it."

So Ferrer went back to jail, and remained there without trial for a full year. At the end of that time a trial was arranged. Ordinarily he should have been brought before the Court of Assize, but there were reasons why the normal course

of justice should not be pursued, and therefore a special court was established to try him, without a jury. No means were neglected to secure the judicial murder of the only rich man among the anticlericals, and yet the attempt failed. Evidence was offered on two points. It was shown, in the first place, that anarchists had paid visits to Ferrer. This was not denied. In the second place, there was an attempt to demonstrate that, since Morales was a poor man and Ferrer a rich one, *therefore* Ferrer must have supplied Morales with money to hire rooms in Madrid and make the attempt on the King's life.

Ferrer's counsel wished to call M. Henri Rochefort on his behalf,—he would have been a powerful witness for the defense,—but the court answered this with a refusal to hear foreign witnesses. This, however, could not silence Rochefort in the newspapers, and he published a letter from Morales to a Russian revolutionary, in which he said:

"I have no faith in Ferrer, Tarrida, and Lorenzo, and all the simple-minded folk who think you can do anything with speeches."

The case was absurd from beginning to end. Even a specially constituted court found itself unable to convict on such evidence, and Ferrer was acquitted.

This first trial took place three years ago, and ever after Ferrer was a marked man. He knew his danger and walked carefully. He conducted the increasing work of his schools, attended a Labor Federation in Paris, and visited London. When, in 1909, Barcelona flamed into open revolt, he was nowhere to be found. It is not quite clear why he should have been looked for in connection with the disorders. Violence, dynamite, and barricades are as native to Barcelona as steel to Pittsburg. In twenty-five years, to go no further back, there have been recorded in the city one hundred and fourteen bomb outrages alone, and these figures are incomplete. In the last year fifteen bombs were exploded, and in the last five months there have been eighteen more. Barcelona is forever on the brink of an outrage or an uprising; it does not need a Ferrer to stir it to its peculiar activities. But the police had orders from Madrid to lay hands on Ferrer, and he promptly

went into hiding. The city was under martial law, and it was no time for Ferrer, of all people, to risk a trial.

The police effected his capture without much difficulty. He was recognized at Alella, his birthplace, arrested, and conveyed in a cart to Barcelona on September 1st. Señor Ugarte, the Public Prosecutor, announced forthwith that he considered Ferrer to have been the leading spirit in the outrages of July.

Then began Ferrer's second trial, the wretched farce that roused the lawyers of Paris to protest against the procedure. A preliminary examination was held by a Judge of First Instance—one, that is to say, who has power only to examine, and can not decide or sentence.

Everything was carried out according to arrangement. Ferrer was committed to take his trial before a court martial, and Captain Galceran, of the Regiment of Engineers, one of the *corps d'élite* of the Spanish Army, was appointed counsel for the defense. This is a post of no ordinary difficulty, for in such a case the officer must reconcile his duty to his client with a convention as to the lengths an officer of the army may go in defending a man accused of a military crime; and it has often happened that an officer acting as counsel has subsequently been punished for his overenthusiastic advocacy.

In this case Captain Galceran seems to have acted fearlessly and conscientiously. Against Ferrer there appeared seventy witnesses, not half of whose number had anything to say that could be held to aid toward a conviction. They swore blithely that they considered Señor Ferrer to be implicated; that their opinion was the general one; that he was a man whose principles made such matters natural to him. This, in fact, was the evidence of several, and others had testimony of equal relevance.

As the case proceeded, Ferrer seemed to lose interest in it. No doubt he recognized that the trial was no more than a form, a preliminary prescribed by etiquette to precede the sentence of death. At the beginning he had watched events shrewdly, and from time to time had spoken briskly and incisively; but long before the last of the seventy witnesses had been heard he had given himself up to thought. Captain

Galceran charged the prosecution with burking the trial. Many witnesses for Señor Ferrer had been refused a hearing, on the ground that the time limit had expired; only hostile evidence had been admitted, and statements had been received from persons not qualified to offer testimony; even anonymous denunciations had been suffered to have weight. Ferrer himself spoke, but briefly, and the trial was over. No one was in doubt as to the result.

It is said—with what truth I can not say—that King Alfonso was willing to reprieve Ferrer. He was inundated with petitions for mercy. One was from Señorita Paz Ferrer, the condemned man's daughter in Paris; and there were others from nearly every country in Europe. The report adds that an interview, with that object, took place between the King and Señor Maura, the Prime Minister. In such an event, the King's purpose can only have been frustrated by Señor Maura. A death sentence, once confirmed by the Cabinet, can not be revised by the King. This is quoted in support of the charge that Ferrer owed his death directly to Maura.

On the evening of October 12th, the Cabinet met and ratified the sentence. Ferrer, who had been removed to the fortress prison of Montjuich, was informed the same night that he was to die next morning. The sentence of the court martial was contained in a long and prolix document, and it took three-quarters of an hour to read it to him. His calm as he listened impressed everybody present. One knows that passive, half-melancholy Spanish calm, more than oriental in its strength.

There were priests to attend him. He had been placed *en capilla* in the little chapel in which a condemned man is made to await the hour of execution. But Ferrer would have none of them.

"Leave me to die in peace," he said to them. "I have my ideas, and I am as firm in my convictions as you are in yours."

At nine o'clock in the morning of October 13th they took him forth to be shot in one of the ditches of the fortifications, consecrated to its grim use by many executions. On the hillside at a little distance were groups of spectators from the

city; the troops would not allow them to come nearer. He still preserved his indomitable calm. In that hour his every-day and commonplace aspect must have worn a look of greatness. Two friars would have accompanied him, but he sent them back, and thus he came to the foot of the rampart sloping steeply up against the sky, against which it is the custom to shoot men. Ordinarily a man faces the rampart and is shot from behind; but Ferrer begged that he might see his death.

"It is not allowed," he was answered. "A traitor must either turn his back or be blindfolded."

It was the latter alternative that he selected, and a handkerchief was bound over his eyes. There were only four men in the firing-party, soldiers from the garrison chosen by the drawing of lots. The officers and guards stood away from him, the signal was given, and the volley rang out. Ferrer gave a loud cry and fell forward. It was over.

And what remains? There remains at least the Escuela Moderna which Ferrer founded, and money to carry it on. In less than eight years its branches have spread from Barcelona over all Spain; and though Ferrer is now absent, the very momentum of its own success will carry it on. It is the most powerful force against clericalism, and it will not become less formidable as time passes. And there remains, further,—what was lacking before,—proof, plain to people of all classes and all grades of intelligence, of the evil influence of the Government of Spain. It is not merely a name, to be potent as a rallying-cry on barricades when Barcelona raves in her periodic fevers, that Ferrer leaves behind him; it is a vital fact of official cruelty, dishonesty, and malice, to which there can be no answer but reform from the root up.

He was not a great man in the sense of a man whose inward strength would have thrust him to the fore in any environment. Rather, he was a product of his time and country, one of those men who are created as though by an economic demand to meet a need. He was not eloquent nor cultured; he could not move gatherings by speeches, and he wrote little. At his trial, the spectators were surprised to hear him speak the formal Castilian of official procedure "like an ill-educated

Frenchman." But, once his interest was strongly taken, he could kindle to vivacity; he could be brisk and downright, and the living force within him would come to the light. He had, what is rare in Spain, a reserve of energy to back the faith he professed—something akin to fanaticism. It was that, and the fact that he was rich, that made him formidable.

As an Anarchist he hardly counted. Anarchism demands a more strenuous adherence than Ferrer could give to it. Certainly he was never in any sense a member of its councils or a leading figure among the Anarchists of Barcelona. He led an irregular life, but not, as has been charged against him, a loose one. His two daughters are resident in Paris. Señorita Paz, the elder, is an actress. The younger, a widow with two daughters, was supported by her father; since his death she has obtained employment in a biscuit factory. His wife still lives in Spain.

Since Ferrer died, Señor Maura's government has fallen, and has been succeeded by Señor Moret's administration. Possibly there is a meaning in this change. Since the death of Ferrer was the issue on which the Government fell, the change may presage reforms. But Spain is used to government by spoliation; to parties that succeed one another in power by mutual arrangement; and hopes are not strong. The real hope is still in Ferrer. The world's voice denounced the system that slaughtered him; his death is the chief count in the indictment against clericalism and bureaucracy. Not even his own Escuela Moderna could show Spain to the young generation of Spaniards in a harsher light than the tragic farce of his two trials, his condemnation, and death.

DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH POLE

A.D. 1909

CHARLES F. HORNE

The recent remarkable attainment of the North Pole by Commander Peary should not be considered by itself as an isolated achievement. Its importance can only be understood, its difficulty realized, and its heroism appreciated, by studying it as the climax of the stupendous struggle, extending over many centuries, for the mastery of the Arctic world. Nor is that mastery yet achieved. Glorious as has been Peary's success, justly proud as every American may feel over an international triumph of such magnitude, the "Polar Waste" still contains vast regions, huge as the eastern half of the United States, utterly unexplored, unknown to man. For these reasons Professor Horne's brief but vivid review of the entire "battle of the North" has a peculiar value. Arctic explorations will continue in the future as they have in the past, other heroes will follow Peary as others had gone before; and in the light of this review, we may understand them all.

Readers seeking a fuller acquaintance with the trials and perils of each earlier venturer should consult the writings of the men themselves. Arctic exploration is peculiar in that it often involves long months of dreary inactivity, and hence almost every successful explorer has turned to the comforting companionship of the pen, leaving us a full record of what he did and saw and thought in that bleak world. Next to Peary's own most recent book, there is special interest to be found in his *Nearest the Pole*, in Nansen's *Farthest North* with its remarkable record of endurance and achievement, in Greely's tragic tale, and those of the searches for Sir John Franklin.

"Othere, the old sea-captain,
Who dwelt in Helgoland,
To King Alfred, the Lover of Truth,
Brought a snow-white walrus-tooth,
Which he held in his brown right hand."

THUS Longfellow opens his poem which tells of the beginning of Arctic exploration. In the year 886, or thereabouts, Othere, a Norse chieftain, narrated to King Alfred of England, and Alfred wrote down in a book, an account of his daring voyage in the desolate ocean north and east of Norway.

Othere is the first man known to have crossed the seventieth parallel of northern latitude. He rounded North Cape, the extreme point of the European continent, and continued for three days into the unknown beyond, seeking rather, it would seem, to satisfy his own desire for knowledge than to gain any personal profit. Thus Othere stands not only as the beginner, but as the typical figure, the first self-sacrificing hero of Arctic exploration.

The Norsemen were the earliest known adventurers into the North. Others among them beside Othere felt that longing to know. Iceland, Southern Greenland, and Labrador were all discovered by their tiny shallops. Such regions can hardly be classed as "Arctic" since they are fully habitable; but the settlers in Greenland are known to have pushed their way far up its western coast, and to have hunted the whale and the walrus there. One of their "runic" stones has been found above the seventy-third parallel, bordering the very waters by which Peary has at last penetrated to the Pole. Moreover, we have such accounts as that about King Harold Hardrada, one of the greatest of Norway's kings, who sailed to the North with all his ships until "darkness hung above the brink where the world falls away, and the king turned back just in time to escape being drawn into the abyss." These vague tales are indeed wrapped in that mystery of wonderment in which the Norsemen lived, but they show also much keen observation and practical knowledge of the Arctic ice fields.

Modern exploration of the far North begins with the discovery of America. It is perhaps seldom sufficiently emphasized that this discovery was a disappointment, especially to Teutonic Europe. The explorers were not looking for America, but for a road by which trade might reach the wealth of India—and they would much sooner have found what they sought. To the mercantile view, America was simply an obstacle blocking the way to India. Spain indeed profited from the new world; but England and Holland, at first, merely tried to get around it. Hence there was search all along the coast for an opening to sail through. No direct western passage existed; and though the search for a "Southwest passage" was successful, Magellan passing below South America and reaching the

Asiatic goal, yet the route involved many months of southward journey and terrific danger from the most tempestuous seas in the world. Hence the "Northwest passage," and, failing that, the "Northeast passage" going northward around Europe itself, were eagerly and determinedly sought.

John and Sebastian Cabot, the earliest English discoverers of America, started their voyage to find this Indian passage (1497), and sailed with watchful merchant eyes far up the bleak coast of Labrador. More than half a century later, Sebastian, grown old in voyaging for other lords, was summoned back to England and made governor of a company of "Merchant Adventurers" to renew the unsuccessful search. Mindful of his own failure on the American coast, Sebastian determined to have the Northeast route attempted. For this purpose he sent out (1553) an expedition of three ships under Sir Hugh Willoughby. Thus was begun the exploration of the northern Asiatic coast.

The expedition produced important results, but it also involved a disaster, the first of those awful tragedies of suffering wherewith Arctic history is overfilled. Willoughby with two of the ships became separated from the other. Pressing on, he discovered the coast of Nova Zembla; then, driven back by the winter ice, he and his crew established themselves for the winter upon the desolate Arctic shore of Lapland or European Russia. This, the first winter passed by a ship's crew in the world of ice, revealed the worst of the grim horrors which so many brave sailors have since encountered there. Scurvy, that dread disease which comes from lack of fresh food, attacked Willoughby and his men. Their flesh grew foul, and rotted. One by one they died, without knowing either the origin or the cure of their hideous malady. Not one among them all survived till spring. Only by the records that they left, have later generations learned their piteous fate.

Meanwhile, the third ship of the expedition, under Captain Richard Chancellor, penetrated the White Sea and reached what is now Archangel, the port of Russia on the northern ocean. Russia did not then, as now, border upon other seas, the Baltic and the Black; she had no sea communication whatever with other lands; and when this bold adventurer appeared from

out the northern wastes, he was hailed as a great benefactor. That long winter which Willoughby spent in dying on a barren coast, Chancellor spent in feasting at the Russian capital of Moscow. And when in spring Chancellor sailed back to England, he had established between the two countries a traffic vastly and mutually beneficial, which continued until Russia fought her way to more accessible shores.

Other explorers soon pushed beyond Willoughby's Nova Zembla goal. Most notable among them was Willem Barents, who made several voyages under the flag of Holland. In 1596 he discovered the islands of Spitzbergen, and then rounded the northern point of Nova Zembla. Beyond this, his ship was caught in the ice, and he and his mates were imprisoned for the winter in a bay upon Nova Zembla's eastern coast. Here, above the seventy-sixth parallel, they are the earliest men known to have endured and survived an Arctic winter, with its months of sunless night, its eternal cold, and its ever-present menace of starvation. They had the fresh meat of polar bears to save them from scurvy; indeed they had more bears for company than they liked, and fought some desperate battles against the hungry monsters. They found driftwood to build them a hut and keep a fire; but they almost perished of the cold. Their chronicle tells of marvelous courage and deep religious spirit. Barents himself, their only navigator, died in the spring, worn out with toil. Their tiny ship was so crushed by the ice as to be useless; so, in open boats, they made their way a thousand miles back to the shores of Lapland, where the survivors found the succor they had so heroically deserved.

For a time after the disaster to Barents, the attempts to force the Northeast passage were abandoned. The Northwest route seemed the more promising. Various Englishmen had already attempted this, Frobisher, Gilbert, Davis among others. The latter of these, John Davis, made several successful voyages, successful in that he brought home wealth in whale oil and skins of seal and deer sufficient to satisfy the merchants who employed him. He thus created the still existing whaling and sealing industries along Greenland's western coast. Davis died in the faith that he had discovered the Northwest passage.

The natives of Greenland told him that there was a vast sea to the north and west of them, and he sailed up the strait which bears his name, confident he was at last upon the road to Asia (1585). He found land instead, and was the first to wander amid that vast mass of islands lying north of the American continent and west of Greenland. Then he returned to England with his spoils of whale and seal. But he returned again and yet again. On his third voyage (1587) he reached as far north upon the Greenland coast as the seventy-fifth parallel. Thence he sailed westward across the open waters, confident that here at last was the road to India. Ice and contrary winds drove him to the southward, and he reached the western islands again where he had reached them before. So, once more well paid for his voyage, he returned to England, meaning to venture by that passage again. But he never did, for the Spanish Armada drew Englishmen's thoughts away from other things, and after that John Davis died.

Then came the most celebrated of early Arctic navigators, Henry Hudson. The fact that Hudson discovered the Hudson River while sailing in the service of Holland has resulted in his being thought of as at least partly a Dutchman. But Hudson was as thorough an Englishman as ever lived, and of his four notable voyages of discovery all but one were sailed under England's flag with English ships and crews.

With Hudson commences a new and important era in the history of Arctic exploration. On his very first voyage in 1607, he was sent out by the Muscovy Company of English merchants with the avowed purpose of sailing, if need be, across the Pole itself. That, asserted the merchants, might very well prove the shortest route to India. All earlier voyagers had sailed to west or east, only turning north as they were compelled to by the land that barred their way. Now, the north itself, the Pole itself was for the first time set as the explorers' goal. For three centuries it continued to lure men on, as before the wealth of India had done, to suffering and death. So, Hudson, setting his ship's prow straight to the north as once King Harold Hardrada had done, sought what fate, what goal, might come. Passing up Greenland's eastern coast, he found the summer ice pack drifting down upon him, as it has drifted







The last voyage of Henry Hudson

Painting by John Collier

The last voyage of
Henry Hudson
Printed by Jas. [illegible]

each summer for untold thousands of years. Hudson pushed his way among the floes, skirting the fringe of a huge unbroken ice pack which spread from Greenland to Spitzbergen barring his passage north. He reached latitude 80° 23′, or perhaps even higher, being the first of the sons of Adam to cross the eightieth parallel, which lies less than seven hundred miles from the Pole. Even the Esquimos dwell less far north.

In a second voyage Hudson skirted the ice floe farther east, from Spitzbergen to Nova Zembla, but with no better success. By those routes at least, ships are barred forever from the Pole, by endless ice.

In his third voyage, sailing for Holland, Hudson sought a more southern passage, and hoped he had found it, when the swift tide swept him up the Hudson River, as through an ocean strait. Then came his last voyage with the awesome tragedy of his death. Again it was England which sent the resolute searcher forth. He would try the Northwest passage now. He did so, and entered the broad but shallow waters of Hudson's Bay. Other explorers had passed its entrance; Frobisher had partly entered the opening strait. But none had gone far enough to recognize the existence of the great bay itself. Hudson sailed some hundred miles along its shores seeking a passage beyond. His crew grumbled, they desired to return home; but their leader persisted until winter caught them and they had to wait until spring upon that barren coast. They had not nearly sufficient provisions, so they subsisted on fish and birds and small game. Fortunately they were not so far north as to be beyond the world of life. There were even trees around; and savages came to trade with the white men. In the spring Hudson set sail for home. He had, however, no provisions for the voyage. His men, already angered against him, were roused to desperation by a rumor that he had secreted the last of the bread for his own use. Some of the men mutinied, and madly selfish in their fear of starvation, committed the crime which has been rarest of all in the heroic history of the North. They seized Hudson by treachery, bound him, and forced him into the ship's boat. With him they sent his young son and two men who persistently stayed faithful to him. Worse yet, they placed in the

boat five of the crew who were sick and helpless. Then the mutineers sailed away. That tragically laden boat with its freight of dying bodies and loyal souls was never heard of again. Repeated search was made along the coasts of Hudson's Bay; but the mutineers say that a storm swept over their course the next day, and presumably the frail boat sank. As for the mutineers, several, including the ringleaders, were slain in a battle with the natives before they reached the open ocean. The survivors, after suffering the last extremities of starvation, finally brought their ship back to Ireland. They were never punished for their share, or at least acquiescence, in the cowardly crime against Hudson and his loyal followers.

From Hudson to Peary three centuries extend. Through all these years the lure of the North has coaxed men on. Its grim and icy defiance has set stern hearts a-tingle with the longing for the grapple. By degrees, the truth was realized that no route through this deadly world of ice could ever be available for trade. But as mercantile reasons for venturing thither failed, scientific ones arose. Some material for meteorology, geology, and kindred studies could be gathered in the North. Chiefly, however, the North called to all men as a mystery. Perhaps its frigid heart might hold unbounded mineral wealth. Perhaps substances yet unknown to man there awaited his discovery. The extreme North might be less cold than the icy barriers which encircled it; the earth's crust might be thinner there, internal heat might supply the needed warmth. Some theologians even imagined paradise might lie, unviolated, about the Pole. A mystery is ever something to be solved. The harder its achievement, the greater the glory of its attainment. So men strove, until to-day the mystery of the North is one no more; its glory has been garnered.

The two centuries following Hudson produced little definite result. The great bay which he had discovered was explored. Baffin, another Englishman, in 1616 sailed north through Davis Strait and circumnavigated that huge sea or bay which bears his name on the west of Greenland. Looking into the northern outlet of his bay, by which Peary was to achieve the Pole, Baffin named it Smith Sound. There he found his north-

ward progress blocked by ice, so sailing down the west coast of Baffin's Bay, the explorer saw and named Lancaster Sound, which was, as future generations were to learn, the true opening of the Northwest passage. Unfortunately, Baffin's discoveries did not become widely known and were somewhat discredited.

A different phase of Arctic exploration began in 1670 with the formation of the Hudson Bay fur company. Its employees, in the search for Canadian furs, roamed the north of the American continent, gradually learning its extent and mapping out its coast. The course of the great Mackenzie River was followed to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean by Alexander Mackenzie in 1789. Lieutenant, afterward Sir John, Franklin traveled over nearly a thousand miles of the icy shore west of the Mackenzie. Other explorers filled in the gaps of knowledge, until Rae completed the task in 1847, and the last bit of coastline was mapped out.

The Asiatic coastline was also established, being traced step after step by Russian explorers. Before 1640 most of the great Siberian rivers had been discovered and followed to their mouths by Cossack chieftains, demanding tribute for the Russian government. As early as 1648 a Siberian Cossack, Deshneff, made a boat journey from the Kolyma River around the northeastern extremity of Russia, and traded for furs with the natives on the Pacific coast. He must thus have passed without knowing it through Behring Strait, the passage, scarce sixty miles wide, which separates Asia from America.

These early Russian discoveries were made, as were those in America, in the way of business. But in 1725 the Czar, Peter the Great, resolved that Siberia should be regularly explored. He entrusted the work to Vitus Behring, a Dane. Under Behring elaborate preparations were made and considerable work done in charting the northern Pacific and the sea which bears his name. In his last voyage Behring landed on the American coast, discovered and named the huge peak of Mount St. Elias, and saw many of the Alaskan islands. He was finally wrecked upon Behring Island in Behring Sea. Compelled to winter there, the explorers suffered agonies. Many of them, including their captain, died (1741). The

survivors built a ship from the wreck of theirs and in the following year sailed back to Siberia.

Other Russian explorers, sent out by Peter the Great or his successors, mapped the north Siberian coast, travelling sometimes by ship, sometimes by sledge. In 1743 a sledging party under Lieutenant Chelyuskin rounded the cape which has been named after him, the highest point of the Asiatic mainland, in fact the most northerly continental point of the world, 77° 41′.

Meanwhile, Englishmen were not idle. In addition to their continental explorations in America, at least three naval expeditions were dispatched to the North by the government during the eighteenth century. These, however, accomplished little, unless we except the work of that under the celebrated explorer Cook. Cook in 1778 sailed northward from the Pacific through Behring Strait, and examined the Arctic coast of both Asia and America for some hundred miles. He also endeavored to sail directly north, but was blocked in his advance by the ice. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century little more of the North was known than in Hudson's day. The outlines of the Asiatic and American continents had been partly and roughly mapped out; but no man had yet penetrated nearer to the Pole than had Hudson in 1607. Possibly, of course, some of the whaling-ships cruising where Hudson had cruised off Spitzbergen had been slightly farther north than he; but none could have much exceeded him and none had given official notice of the fact. His 80° 23′ remained the record of "farthest north."

We come now to what may fairly be termed the modern period of Polar exploration. In 1817 Captain Scoresby, the ablest and most scientific of the English whaling captains, brought back word to England that a change had taken place, that the northern seas had never before been so free from ice. The captain urged that exploration, both in the interest of the whalers and of science, be vigorously recommenced. The government promptly announced a reward of £20,000 to any ship which made the Northwest passage, and one of £5,000 to any explorer who reached within one degree of the Pole. The comparative rewards may be taken as measuring what

England thought the relative importance of the two goals. The government did more than this, it sent out naval expeditions; and from 1818 to 1857 there was scarce a year during which English warships were not ploughing the northern seas. Chiefly, these efforts were confined to the region west of Greenland, in the search for the Northwest passage. Parry penetrated Lancaster Sound and reached far to the westward in 1819. Ross discovered the magnetic pole on the American mainland in 1831. In the Spitzbergen region, Parry in 1827 made a resolute effort to reach the Pole itself. This expedition of Parry's was the first of the many which have since abandoned ships and attempted to cross the great northern ice pack with sledges. Parry and his men dragged their sledges by hand, and penetrated as far north as 82° 45′. They found the advance over the broken and often watery ice to be terribly laborious. Sometimes they could struggle onward only four miles a day. At length heavy winds from the north began to sweep the ice floes southward faster than the men could travel over the rugged surface. Thus the expedition was driven back. Its northward mark stood as the record for half a century more.

In 1845 the English government sent out the renowned and ill-fated Franklin expedition. What Franklin himself accomplished was little, but the numerous search expeditions despatched to his rescue completed the investigation of the islands north of America and at last accomplished the aim of four hundred years, the discovery of the Northwest passage. Sir John Franklin had already achieved renown in the North, and was almost sixty years old when the command of his final expedition was offered him. Despite his age he eagerly accepted the responsibility and opportunity, and set forth to discover the ever elusive road to the Northwest. Steam had now superseded sails as the motive power of ships, so Franklin had high hopes that the glory of the achievement was to be his. Passing westward as Parry had done through Lancaster Sound, he turned southward through straits which might indeed have led him to the open sea and Behring Strait. But the winter ice froze fast about his ship, so fast indeed that the next summer failed to free her from her prison. Franklin

died. Another summer came, but also failed to free the ship. Then her crew, abandoning her, attempted to reach the American mainland to the southward. They attained, barely attained, that barren shore, exhausted and starving. They could go no further; and there, twenty years later, their bleaching skeletons were found by a searching party under the American Lieutenant Schwatka.

It were useless to reckon all the rescue expeditions which attempted to follow Franklin's track. The English government sent several; the explorer's wife, Lady Franklin, financed others; at least three were despatched from the United States. Gradually one trace after another of the missing men was found, but far too late to aid the dead. Two English ships, sent by way of the Pacific, pushed east from Behring Strait till they reached the western shores of the Arctic archipelago. One of these ships under Captain McClure penetrated the archipelago eastward to within sight of Melville Island, which Parry had reached from the other side. Here McClure's ship, like Franklin's, became locked inescapably in the winter's ice; but the men of another rescue expedition coming from the east brought McClure and his crew back to England. Thus they, if not their ship, did actually complete the trip through the Northwest passage. They entered Behring Strait in the summer of 1850 and reached England, some of them in the fall of 1853, others in 1854. The other ship which had accompanied McClure also returned to England in 1854. Under her captain, Collinson, she had penetrated even farther eastward than McClure, reaching in fact to within a few miles of where Franklin's crew had perished, but turning back before the impassable ice. Having practically circumnavigated the American continent, Collinson then sailed back through all the vast region he had traversed. Thus the Northwest passage had actually been found, but was proved useless. McClure was knighted for his achievement.

American exploration of the far North began with the expeditions sent out in search of Franklin. The first of these was financed by Mr. Henry Grinnell, a New York merchant. The Americans turned their attention at once to the passage up Smith's Sound by which they have at last achieved the Pole.

The first search expedition, under De Haven, looked up this waterway; the second, under Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, wintered on its shores (1853), having penetrated farther north than any one had before attained by this route. We know now, that here to the northwest of Greenland one narrow strait succeeds another for over two hundred miles. Above Smith Sound comes Kane Sea, then Kennedy Channel, Hall Basin, Robeson Channel, and at last Lincoln Sea and the Arctic Ocean. But Kane did not know of this, he hoped and believed that from the sea named after him the Arctic waters stretched away unbounded to the Pole. Some of his men who travelled north of the eightieth parallel assured him of this, and of the ice-free condition of the waters. So after two disastrous winters, Kane returned home to spread abroad the faith in an "open polar sea." One of his assistants, Dr. Hayes, penetrated yet a little farther in a later expedition. And then in 1872 Mr. Charles Hall in his ship, the *Polaris*, steamed on up the broadening channel to 82°16′, reaching almost to its end before he was stopped by the ice.

We approach the most recent period of the Arctic struggle. In 1874 an Austrian expedition was sent out to try the northern route least tested of all, that to the northward of Nova Zembla. The fate of this, the Tegetthoff expedition under Lieutenant Weyprecht, was peculiar. Before the ship had even reached Nova Zembla, it was caught in the drift ice and became firmly embedded. Helpless, immovable, a part of the ice floe, the ship drifted for over a year, northward and eastward, until at length the wanderers were cast upon the hitherto undiscovered coast of Franz Josef Land. From there they finally escaped in open boats.

The next year (1875) the noted Finnish explorer, Nordenskiold, began his series of trips toward the northeast. His goal was the Northeast passage, the outline of which along the Asiatic coast had been mapped out in the previous century, but which no ship had ever completely covered. The necessities of Arctic exploration were now beginning to be appreciated and scientifically approached. Nordenskiold made several preliminary voyages, feeling his way, testing his route. Finally in 1878 he set out from Tromso in Norway, passed south of

Nova Zembla and steamed on eastward to within about a hundred miles of Behring Strait. Here the winter ice closed around him; but with the coming of the next summer he completed his voyage, steaming forth upon the Pacific Ocean. Thus the Northeast passage has been actually voyaged by a ship, as the Northwest never has and perhaps never will be. For all commercial purposes one is well-nigh as dangerous and as useless as the other.

Another expedition which set out in 1875 was sent forth by the English government under Captain Nares. Its effort was to reach the Pole, west of Greenland. Captain Nares essayed the Smith Sound route, and, penetrating even farther than Hall in the *Polaris*, reached the far northern sea beyond the series of narrow channels there. On this bleak shore Nares wintered. The sea proved, however, not open as Hall had thought, but eternally ice-covered. The next spring, one of Nares' officers, Lieutenant Markham, led a party forth upon the frozen sea, attempting to do what Parry had tried fifty years before, what Peary has at length accomplished, reach the Pole by marching over the ice floes. Markham dragged both boats and sledges, but even thus encumbered he reached to 83°20′, overtopping the mark Parry had set so long before.

Thus modern methods were established. Nordenskiold began the system of pushing forward by a series of preparatory voyages. Markham started the recent sledge expeditions. The Tegetthoff had encountered the first of some notable drifting experiences. Most tragic of these drifting trips was that of the American ship *Jeanette*. She set out from San Francisco in 1879, under the charge of Commander De Long, to attempt the Pole by way of Behring Strait. Forcing her way among the ice floes in this little-known region of the Arctic seas, she was finally caught in the great pack of ice. She drifted with it, helpless and immovable, for two years. The general drift was westward and a little toward the north. Some small and barren islands above the Asiatic continent were discovered, and it was proved that the Arctic here was a broad but shallow sea. Several times the ice partly opened, and then in enormous masses crushed in again upon the ship until she was completely ruined. One last time the ice opened, and

the battered *Jeanette* sank forever. With sledges and boats her crew forced their way to the Siberian Islands, and thence to the mainland at the mouth of the Lena River. Only one small boat-load of the men survived that terrible journey. Another boat, commanded by De Long, reached the coast, but his party perished of starvation, one by one, before they could attain to food or help.

In 1879 was held the First International Circumpolar Conference, in which ten great nations took part, including all which had been prominent in Polar history. It was agreed that each nation should establish one or more polar stations which might be made bases of supply and from which exploration could be more effectively pushed onward.

Most notable and most northern of these stations was that established by the United States, under command of Lieutenant Greely. It was planted in 1881 on the shore of Lady Franklin Bay, which lies on the Smith Sound route far up above the eighty-first parallel, almost up to the polar sea where Nares had wintered in 1875. Here Greely and his companions spent two winters, those of 1881–2 and 1882–3. In the intervening summer they explored the coasts to the northward; and Lieutenant Lockwood, following up the Greenland coast almost to its farthest north, reached a latitude of 83°24′, even higher than Markham's highest.

Then came the tragedy. The summer of 1883, the third which the heroic investigators had spent in those awesome wilds, brought no ship to take them home. They had expected one both that year and the year before; but inclement seasons, a wreck, and other delays had driven the relief ships back. Now it became necessary for Greely and his men to save themselves, fight their own way back toward civilization as best they might. They worked their way that summer back down Smith Sound to Baffin Bay; but here the winter overtook them. Poorly sheltered, worse provisioned, they suffered through terrible months of cold and darkness and starvation. When a relief expedition found them the following June more than half had died, the rest were almost dying.

We turn now to the three most recent and most successful of Arctic conquerors, Nansen, Abruzzi, and Peary. There

is a striking similarity between the careers of Nansen and Peary. Each devoted himself to the North for many years, and through a number of trips. Each began his work in the later '80's, and each started by exploring the before untrodden interior of Greenland. Dr. Fridtiof Nansen, a young Norwegian scientist born in 1861, crossed the southern end of Greenland in 1888, at about the latitude of the Arctic Circle. He was accompanied by four companions. Landing on the east coast they toiled up the gigantic ice mountains, crossed the central divide of the mighty island at a height of 9,000 feet, and then with comparative ease coasted down to the western shore.

After some further experiences, Nansen persuaded the Norwegian government to aid him in what was perhaps the most daring of all Arctic ventures. The *Jeanette*, as we have seen, had been wrecked after entering Behring Strait. Some drifted fragments from the expedition were found, years afterward, upon the Greenland coast. The supposition was that these must have floated across the Polar Sea, perhaps across the very Pole itself, and that, therefore, a current flowed that way. Nansen resolved to commit himself to that suppositious current, in hopes that he, too, might cross the Pole. For this purpose a ship, the *Fram*, in English the *Forward*, was built of special stoutness to resist the crushing of the ice. She was provisioned for five years, and in 1893 set out under command of Nansen and Captain Sverdrup to commit herself to her fate. Steaming northeast along the Asiatic coast, Nansen forced his way into the Arctic ice not far from where the *Jeanette* had sunk.

At first, much to her commander's disappointment, the *Fram* drifted southwest. Later, however, the ice turned northward, and followed about the direction he had hoped. For three years the *Fram* floated with the pack, and though she never reached the Pole, she did, in the fall of 1895, reach a latitude far higher than man or ship had ever been before, almost to the eighty-sixth degree. In the summer of 1896 she found herself drifting southward again, north of Spitzbergen. Here, after long and desperate blasting with explosives, she broke her way clear of the ice and returned to Norway.

Nansen himself, however, had not continued in the *Fram*.

In the early spring of 1895 he became convinced that the ship would never drift much higher, and with one companion, Johansen, he adopted the yet more daring expedient of abandoning the comparative security of the ship and pushing northward with two sledges drawn by dogs. These two reckless venturers left the *Fram* in March, at about latitude 84°. They had no hope of ever finding the ship again in that limitless expanse, but planned, after pushing as far northward as they could, to march back across the ice to the archipelago of Franz Josef Land. This they ultimately did. Pushing forward, sometimes over water channels or "leads" in the ice, sometimes over soft snow and slush, sometimes over bergs so rifted and broken as to be a constant climb, they reached to north latitude 86°13′. Their advance of about a hundred and fifty miles had taken them nearly a month. Nansen kept careful count of their provisions and of their daily perishing dogs, and he decided that he had reached the farthest limit from which he might still hope to return. Therefore he turned back; and after countless dangers, privations, and almost miraculous escapes, he and his companion reached Franz Josef Land more than three months later. They wintered there, in solitude and almost starvation. The next spring they were rescued by another exploring party, so that they got back to Norway just a week ahead of their comrades in the *Fram.*

Another notable European expedition was that equipped and headed by the Duke of Abruzzi, the well-known member of the Italian royal family. Abruzzi was also aiming at the Pole, but, varying Nansen's method, he selected Franz Josef Land as his base and planned to advance from there by sledges. His ship, the *Polar Star*, set out in 1899 and wintered at Franz Josef Land, where Abruzzi himself had the misfortune to be injured. He was thus compelled to entrust the sledge expedition of the following spring to his assistant, Captain Cagni. The method adopted for this was that which Peary has made famous. Several supporting parties went out with Cagni, so that when the last of these fell back, he went onward with a full supply of provisions and a full team of dogs. Managed in this way, and aided by good fortune and smoother ice than previous explorers had met, the sledge journey was far longer

than any of the earlier ones across this difficult semi-sea. The advance party travelled three hundred miles, and reached a point even farther north than Nansen had attained from the *Fram*. Cagni's mark, 86°33′, remained the "farthest north" until Peary exceeded it six years later, and then, trying once more, reached the Pole itself. Cagni turned back because failing provisions compelled him to do so, and he only barely regained his ship, living for the last fortnight on his starving dogs.

Even before the Abruzzi expedition a new expedient had been tried in this prolonged struggle for the Pole. Such had been the progress in aeronautics that a daring balloonist, Salomon Andrée, suggested the possibility of drifting across the Arctic Ocean, perchance even over the Pole itself, in a balloon. Andrée was a Swedish government engineer, and his dangerous project was, after much discussion, officially aided by his country. A Swedish warship carried Andrée and two companions to Spitzbergen, where their balloon was made ready. Then, in July, 1897, seizing an opportunity when the wind blew northward, the three adventurers soared away into the unknown. From Spitzbergen to the Pole was over six hundred miles in a direct line, and beyond the Pole they must float as far again or probably much farther before they could hope to reach any habitable shore. A message was dropped from the balloon on the third day of its ascent, telling of baffling winds and a slow drift northeastward. Nothing definite has ever since been heard or seen of these heroic adventurers. That they perished, no one can longer doubt. Their names are added to the tragic list of victims of the lure of the North. But how or where or when they met their frozen fate we can only guess. Occasional rumors come from the American Esquimos, of a great bird dropping from the sky, of dead men borne by the bird to their coast; but such rumors are usually the mere echo of the white man's questions. Perhaps the balloon and its grim freight lie yet upon the Arctic drift ice, floating back and forth through that vast wilderness. More probably they have been engulfed and will be hid forever in the ocean's deeps. Yet man has not been stayed from venturing; another aeronaut, Walter Wellman, has planned, and

though repeatedly baffled still plans, to succeed where Andrée perished.

Such, in brief, is the story of the North, leaving out of account the remarkable work of Commander Peary, the hero who at length has reached the goal for which so many strove. The magnitude of the task he has accomplished can only be appreciated by measuring it against the centuries of heroic effort that lay behind, the thousands of men who have taxed endurance and ingenuity to their utmost limit, the hundreds who have been driven beyond that limit, and perished. Yet all had failed.

Peary owes his success, as he himself has told us in recent speeches, to his patience and experience. The effort and courage of former explorers could not be exceeded; their personal knowledge of the North and familiarity with its conditions could. Peary for a score of years devoted all his life and all his study to acquiring that knowledge through repeated Arctic trips, repeated efforts toward one goal after another. He plucked victory, as many another workman has done, from the suffering and disappointment of repeated defeat.

Robert Edwin Peary is an American, born in Pennsylvania in 1856. He was educated at Bowdoin College and entered the United States Navy as a civil engineer in 1881. In this capacity he worked for some years on the United States Government survey for the Nicaragua ship canal, and in 1887-8 was at the head of the survey. He rose to the rank of commander in the navy before withdrawing from active service. His first northern trip was one of observation along the coast of Greenland in 1886, at just about the time that Nansen was engaged in the same work. Peary scaled the vast continental ice cap of Greenland and penetrated for some distance toward the interior. The Arctic ambition seized him for its own.

Returning to Greenland in 1891, as head of an expedition sent out by the Philadelphia Academy, Peary spent his first winter in the North. The next spring, starting from a base near Smith Sound, he accomplished a remarkable sledge journey of twelve hundred miles forth and back across northern Greenland. He reached its northeast coast at a spot which he named Independence Bay, thus establishing the fact that

Greenland is indeed an island, not, as some had thought, a continent extending perhaps to the Pole and beyond. Next to his last and greatest feat, this was perhaps Peary's most notable achievement in the North. It brought him medals and honors both at home and abroad. Moreover, it fixed his intention to devote himself permanently to the cause of Arctic discovery.

In 1893–5 Peary headed a second expedition to northern Greenland. This time, despite the most heroic exertions, he failed to journey farther, or as far as he had done before; but he brought back many data of value and interest to science, and he fixed himself firmly in the confidence and affection of the Esquimos of Etah, probably the most northerly dwelling people in the world, the men whose aid proved of such value to him in the end. The explorer's devoted wife accompanied him part way on both of these trips, and a baby was born to them there in the farthest North.

Again in 1896 and again in 1897 did Peary make summer voyages of preparation to Smith Sound. Then in 1898 he headed an expedition which kept him in the North till 1902, during which time he and his comrades explored and mapped out much of both shores of the Polar channel northwest of Greenland, and the commander himself rounded Greenland's most northern point, or rather that of the smaller islands beyond it. This the most northerly known land in the world (83° 39′) he named after the man who had chiefly financed his expeditions, Cape Morris K. Jesup. The bold explorer also made an effort to advance due north across the frozen Polar Sea, but was stopped a little above the eighty-fourth parallel by a broad open river or "lead" of water which his sledges could not cross, and which extended apparently endlessly east and west.

By this time Commander Peary was recognized as the foremost Arctic explorer of the world; and it was now, with all these years of experience behind him, and strong in the attachment of the Esquimos, that he determined to attempt the Pole itself. His first expedition for this purpose, thoroughly and ably equipped, set out in 1905. A ship, the *Roosevelt*, was specially built, as Nansen's *Fram* had been, for bucking into the ice floes, and

resisting their enormous pressure when caught among them. In this powerful ship Peary sailed north to Etah on the shore of Smith Sound; and thence, having taken on board a number of his loyal Esquimos and upward of two hundred of their dogs, he steamed northward to force his way through the series of channels leading to the Polar Sea. The *Roosevelt* was successfully driven through the entire passage to the shores of Lincoln Sea beyond, at a latitude of about 82° 20′, and there wintered beneath a rocky promontory which was named Cape Sheridan. This was farther north than men had ever wintered before, except for Nansen's expedition on the drifting *Fram*.

The next spring Peary made a bold push for the Pole, leaving his ship early in March. His plan was to send out several sledge parties one after another loaded with provisions. His own sledge, starting last and travelling with a light load, should catch up with the others one by one, until, freshly supplied from the last of the supporting parties, he with his sledge, his dogs, and drivers should push onward alone. This plan was followed till all the parties were blocked by that same big "lead" of open water which had barred the onward course of Peary's previous advance in 1902. This lead, the commander believes, separates the continental ice-sheet attached to America from the slowly drifting ice of the deep Arctic Ocean, swept eastward by some ocean current. After a week of anxious waiting, the adventurers succeeded in crossing the lead on a thin coating of ice which temporarily closed it. For nearly three weeks more Peary struggled on, now over smooth ice, now amid broken piled-up ridges, each to be climbed and descended in its turn, or again blocked by open water, as the ice floes cracked apart and joined again. On April 21, 1906, Peary with his single sledge reached latitude 87° 6′; but he knew that with his dwindling provisions and exhausted Esquimos and dogs he could not possibly reach the Pole and get back. Perhaps, even now, he had gone farther than they could return. So, reluctantly, he gave the order for retreat, having stood higher north than ever any man before.

The retreat to the *Roosevelt* was ultimately accomplished in safety, though the "big lead" proved as difficult of crossing as before and the eastward drift of the ice resulted in the party

reaching the coast of Greenland more than a hundred miles from their ship. They had to depend upon the game they found there, musk-oxen and hares, for subsistence as they journeyed back. After this the shores of Grant Land where they had wintered were explored far to the westward, and other islands discovered. Then in the late summer the *Roosevelt* broke a passage out of the ice-pack, rammed her way successfully southward through the Greenland channels, and in the fall returned to New York, whence she had set out.

Peary with undying courage began at once his lecture tours to secure money for another attempt; and, what with his own financial efforts and those of devoted friends, he was ready for his final trip in the spring of 1908. Once more the *Roosevelt* steamed north to Etah, once more she took on board the loyal Esquimo settlers with their valuable dogs, and once more she bucked and buffeted her way through the ice-filled channels west of Greenland. Once more, after long battling, the sturdy ship forced her way northward to Cape Sheridan on the shore of Lincoln Sea. Peary tried to get the *Roosevelt* even farther north than in 1905, but found himself driven back upon Cape Sheridan, so that he wintered almost exactly where he had been before.

The big island northwest of Greenland is called Grant Land. Its most northern point is Cape Columbia, many miles to the north and westward of Cape Sheridan. From Cape Columbia, as the most northern land accessible, Peary had resolved to make his start for the northward struggle in the spring. Hence all winter long one sledge expedition after another carted stores from the *Roosevelt* to Cape Columbia, that all might be ready there.

The start on the heroic "dash for the Pole" was made from Cape Columbia on Feb. 28, 1909. The expedition, in addition to about twenty Esquimos with their sledges and their many teams of dogs, consisted of seven men from the *Roosevelt's* company. Beside Peary and his personal attendant, the negro Matthew Henson, these adventurers were: Captain Bartlett, Peary's chief lieutenant, a Newfoundland sea captain who commanded the *Roosevelt* on both her voyages, Professor McMillan, the scientific head of the expedition; his assistants, Mr. Marvin and Mr. Borup; and the ship's physician, Dr. Goodsell.

Bartlett led the advance division. Peary himself brought up the rear, starting more than a day behind the first sledge.

The trip was very similar to that of a year before. A few days after starting all parties were held back for a week by a big open "lead." Beyond this the going much improved. They travelled with eager haste. Dr. Goodsell was sent back with the first return party. Then McMillan, crippled by the cold, turned back with more Esquimos, leaving full food sledges for the rest. Next, Borup was sent back, then Marvin. They were above the eighty-seventh parallel now, above their farthest north of three years before. They were still strong and fresh and well provisioned. Hope was high. At the eighty-eighth parallel Captain Bartlett was sent back. It was hard upon him; Commander Peary himself has declared to the writer of this article that the success of the expedition was due more to the loyal aid of Captain Bartlett than to that of any other of his assistants. But Peary had planned his every move with mechanical precision. Bartlett was sent back; and Peary alone, attended only by his servant Henson and four Esquimo drivers, all equally devoted to him, made his last hurried rush forward. He carried full sledge loads, provisions for forty days, allowing five days for advance and then thirty-five for retreat. Their dogs might make them food for another ten days beyond that; then they must find game, their ship, or die.

This final dash of the one remaining party began April 1st. They had measured their position by the sun before starting. They struggled onward for five days, over old ice mainly, huge-piled and difficult, but sometimes galloping over smoother floes. The wind was bitter, the sky overcast, the cold many many degrees below our Fahrenheit zero. A glimpse of sun came at noon on April 6th and Peary took a hasty observation. It gave their latitude as 89° 57′. A minute in such measuring equals about a mile; they were within three miles of the Pole.

How did they know when they reached it that afternoon? They did not know exactly. Perhaps, indeed, they had already overshot it. They spent thirty hours in the neighborhood, going ten miles beyond and almost equally far to one side, so as to be assured of covering the spot. The sun came out,

and Peary searched eagerly with his telescope for land, but found none. Through a crack in the ice he sounded the ocean's depth below him. The measuring line sank almost two miles and found no bottom. The line broke and was thrown away.

That is the answer to the riddle of the centuries. There is no "Pole." No man shall ever plant a flag upon its summit, or leave a permanent record there. Above earth's northernmost point there rolls a mighty ocean. Across its surface sweep mighty masses of ever drifting ice. Peary left records and flags; but will the next explorer find them there, or drifted some hundred miles away? Or will the breaking, shifting ice drop them into the deeps below? It may have done so already. It may carry them unharmed for centuries.

On April 7th the venturesome explorers started their backward flight. As Peary himself says, they seemed to bear a charm. Everything went with smoothness. They followed their own trail back, sleeping in the snow huts they had built on their advance, losing no time anywhere, able to cover almost two days' trip in one by reason of their lighter load, the trodden path, and the release from extra labor in preparing sleeping-quarters and so on. On April 23d they reached the shore of Grant Land not far from where they had started. Peary tells us that his chief Esquimo sat down on his sledge upon the shore and said, "The devil is asleep or having trouble with his wife, or we never should have come back so easily."

Only one tragedy marred this fortunate expedition. The other return parties had faced much more serious difficulties from ice and weather than had Peary's. The leader of one of them, Mr. Marvin, was drowned in crossing the "big lead," the last and latest victim of the lure of the North.

As soon as summer permitted, the *Roosevelt*, eager to carry the proud news of her victory to the world, broke her way out of the ice at Cape Sheridan, steamed back down those long channels, the "American passage," to the Arctic Ocean, landed her Esquimos at Etah, and sped for home. On September 5th she reached Battle Harbor in Labrador, and Peary telegraphed his now celebrated message, "Stars and Stripes nailed to North Pole."

CHRONOLOGY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

EMBRACING THE PERIOD COVERED IN THIS VOLUME

A.D. 1903–1909

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Events treated at length are here indicated in large type; the numerals following give volume and page.

Separate chronologies of the various nations, and of the careers of famous persons, will be found in the Index Volume.

1903. (See Vol. XIX for earlier events of this year.) The strange properties discovered in the new metal radium, led to a revision of all scientific theories about the nature of the material world. See "Radium and the Transmutation of Metals," XX, 1.

Great Britain and the United States agreed to have a judicial commission decide the Alaskan boundary; Canada and the United States accepted its decision. See "The Alaskan Boundary Settlement," XX, 50.

Austria granted self-government to her subjects in Bohemia.

King Alexander of Servia annulled the State Constitution and ruled arbitrarily. Army officers slew him and his queen in their palace. Peter, a descendant of the "liberator" of Servia, made king.

The Russian government encouraged its people in persecuting the Jews, causing hideous massacres. See "Kishineff, the Medieval Outbreak against the Jews, XX, 23.

Pius X became Pope.

In China there were renewed Boxer outbreaks, quickly suppressed.

1904. The United States ratified the Canal Treaty with Panama; President Roosevelt elected for a second term.

Disastrous fire in Baltimore.

Venezuela was threatened by the combined European powers for nonpayment of debts. The United States protected Venezuela, established the Monroe Doctrine as a part of International Law, and secured a peaceful settlement. See "Venezuelan Arbitration," XX, 82.

In Colombia Rafael Rayes became president and reorganized and strengthened the government.

"THE EARTHQUAKE OF MESSINA," XX, 339.

Russia recommenced her oppression of Finland and dissolved the Finnish parliament.

The "Young Turks" caused a sudden revolution in Turkey and compelled the Sultan to establish constitutional government. See "TURKISH REVOLUTION," XX, 278.

In Turkey's weakness, Bosnia and Herzegovina were formally annexed by Austria. Bulgaria asserted its complete independence of Turkey and seized Turkish territory. See "THE EXPANSION OF AUSTRIA AND BULGARIA," XX, 302.

In Persia, the Shah Mohammed Ali expelled the newly formed parliament and suppressed constitutional government. Tabriz and other cities revolted.

In China the old and able empress, Tsu-hsi, died, also the puppet emperor, Kwang-su. A baby, Pu-yi, was made emperor.

1909. "DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH POLE," XX, 394.

Wireless telegraphy so perfected that for the first time it saved the victims of a shipwreck at sea. See "THE TRIUMPH OF WIRELESS," XX, 354.

The United States Congress passed the Payne-Aldrich high tariff bill; the "Progressive" Republican Congressmen revolted from their party.

Cuba again restored to complete independence; United States troops withdrawn.

In Venezuela a revolt caused the overthrow and exile of the dictator Castro.

In England the strife between the two Houses of Parliament became serious, because the Liberals in the House of Commons proposed heavy taxes on wealth and the Conservatives in the Lords opposed this.

Spain tried to establish power over Morocco, the Spanish people protested against the useless fighting with the Moors; anarchists revolted in Barcelona; the celebrated court martial of the anarchist Ferrer followed. See "CLASH OF ANARCHY AND CLERICALISM IN SPAIN," XX, 370.

Parliamentary Government overthrown in Greece by the patriotic military leaders who sought to force Greece to annex Crete and defy Turkey.

The Turkish Sultan suppressed the new constitutional government by force. A revolt overthrew him and restored the Constitution. He was deposed and succeeded by his son, Mahomet V.

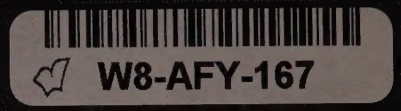
Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria assumed the title of Czar; Bulgaria became regarded as the chief Balkan state.

In Persia the Revolution triumphed; the Shah was deposed and exiled: constitutional government was restored under his child son, Ahmet, as Shah.

In Corea, the Japanese viceroy, Marquis Ito, was assassinated by a Corean patriot.

University of Peking founded in China.

END OF VOLUME XX


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